IQBAL:

MIND AND ART

JAGAN NATH AZAD



Prof. Jagan Nath Azad has rendered meritorious services for Iqbaliat with all captivating sweetness and spirit of fairness. This volume will help to elevate and sublimate research work both in home and abroad. The author's dulcet treatment is free from bias and for this reason he deserves all the praise especially for using his literary capacities wisely and in an incomparable shimmer. The study of the volume will reveal that there exists no grain of religious or political convictions, no bias and no instinct of self display. The author has tried with all his sense of responsibility and sincerity to interpret Iqbal in the light of classical and modern knowledge. The richness of author's maturity and creative sterling qualities has made this volume a great multipurpose achievement particularly when no other critic has ever bothered to bolster his standing in the eyes of intellectuals in such a constructive and balanced manner. The headings, philosophy, religion, politics and poetry throw light on versatile genius of Iqbal but the way those have been truely portrayed reflect acumen and sagacity of Prof. Jagan Nath Azad who has sacrificed all his social pleasures to bring everlasting effectiveness to this volume and of course, his name shall be cherished tomorrow because he has built yesterday on today.

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EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION

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NATIONAL BOOK HOUSE
URDU BAZAR LAHORE

IQBAL MIND AND ART

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EDITED BY :

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Published by :

JAMIL-UN-NABI

Price : Rs. 125.00
£ 7.00
$ 13.00

Printed by

YOUNUS NADEEM PRESS LAHORE

TO

HAFEEZ MALIK

ز جوہرے کہ نہاں است در طبیعتِ ما
مپرس صیرفیاں را کہ ما عیارِ خودیم

CONTENTS

FOREWORD

Allama Mohammad Iqbal's thought is multilateral in so far as it has political, social, cultural, and artistic aspects. In the domain of Poetry, again, he exhibits a variety of direction and style; composing on a large number of subjects, ranging from nature poetry to abstract philosophical ideas; composing in 'mathnavi' and 'ghazal', adding 'rubaiyat' to them in the fashion of persian masters; and using both Urdu and Persian for the vehicle of expression. In disseminating his thought he uses both prose and poetical medium, and shows a multifarious influences, both Oriental and Occidental, Classical and Modern. This renders it difficult to expound the totality and richness of his creative genius which very few masters in the world have betrayed. Perhaps, no single writer or commentator on Iqbal has been able to encompass all these various aspects. Prof. Jagan Nath Azad, for one, and that quite satisfactorily, has treated Iqbal's multi-dimensionality in the following articles which are going to comprise the pages of this book.

The reader will find that the book discusses at length Iqbal's works under four distinct heads : (i) Philosophy. (ii) Religion. (iii) Politics. and (iv) Poetry -- the four main currents running through his whole art and thought. This renders the ensuing book one of the most lucid commentaries on the Poet-Philosopher of the East.

M. M.

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J. M. M.

INTRODUCTION

Prof. Jagan Nath Azad, a well-known Iqbal scholar, came to Pakistan in the beginning of the last year and I had a few meetings with him. During one of the meetings I suggested to him to compile his articles on Iqbal, written in English, in the form of a book, knowing that he was one of those few scholars in the subcontinent who could write with equal ease and facility in Urdu as well as in English. Acknowledging that he had never thought of this project before, he agreed to my proposal as he had got some seven or eight articles published in various newspapers and journal of renown in India and abroad, and promised to give a serious sonsideration as soon as he would get back to Jammu, his home-place and seat of learning. Not only did he resolve to work on the proposed project, he, showing full faith in me, entrusted the task of compiling his papers, alongwith writing an introduction to them, to me vide his letter dated 4th June, 1980 in the following words:

"دیباچہ آپ کے قلم سے، اس لئے ضروری ہے کہ اگر کہیں اختلافِ رائے
کی گنجائش ہوگی تو آپ کے قلم سے وہ نہایت خوبصورت
طریقے سے بیان ہوگی۔"

I received the manuscripts of his learned articles towards the end of August last and set about going through them with a mind, not only to arranging and compiling them and introducing them, but also to learning from them myself which, I must admit, I have done.

The articles I have received are seven in number alongwith copies of letters and book reviews written by the author

himself. Collectively they make a very substantial and significant contribution to the life, art and thought of Allama Mohammad Iqbal, and throw a new light from an Indian, not a non-Muslim, angle. Iqbal is one of the very few poets and thinkers who have been acclaimed, not only by their own countrymen and co-religionists, but universally, irrespective of the creed and country of the scholar; though there is no doubt that we in Pakistan and India are in a more privileged position, I believe, to project his thought for the following reasons : (i) Iqbal was an Indian by birth, though ideologically a Pakistani (ii) he being our compatriot, we have much in common historically and culturally with him than any of those belonging to a different history and background. And on the same ground the Muslims of the subcontinent have a slight edge over the non-Muslims of the same region owing to a common religion, though, I must add, Prof. Azad is a notable exception in that he has understood Islam through Iqbal's own eyes as is obvious from his writings. His presentation of Islam is reliable and his sincerity in this regard most praiseworthy. I may add that I have seldom come across a non-Muslim, whatever his pretensions, who has been so truly unbiased as the author of this book. If a Pakistani scholar feels any difference of opinion with him, it is more on political than on religious grounds. What makes him a truly faithful scholar and commentator of Iqbal is this aspect of his writings once he admits that Iqbal was a protagonist of Islam. In the case of other commentators, it is the Islamic tinge in Iqbal which is the main source of misappropriation in their projection of his thought.

No sooner did I undertake the present project than I was faced with a big problem, i.e. the problem of arranging the articles which task the author had quite reliably left to

me, though making some tentative suggestions in one of his letters, presumably to facilitate my job. I am really at a loss how to do it in so far as the articles are on a motley variety of aspects. One finds it hard to determine the importance of one topic over another, especially when one is not the author himself. However, after a due and long consideration and deliberation I have hit upon the following arrangement which to me appears the most satisfactory one : (i) 'When was Iqbal born?', (ii) 'Indian background of Iqbal's poetry', (iii) 'Iqbal : poet and politician', (iv) 'Iqbal, his poetry and philosophy', (v) 'Iqbal, Schopenhauer, and the Quran', (vi) 'Iqbal, Islam and the Modern age', followed by four appendices consisting mostly of letters and book reviews. I must acknowledge that in making the above arrangement I feel a bit jittery lest it should fail to go with the finer taste of any of its readers, though I am going to stick to it once I have decided upon it.

Prof. Azad has not only given me the right of arranging and introducing his valuable papers on Iqbal, but has also conferred on me the privilege to add my own criticism where necessary, which again shows his immense faith in me, though it is a slippery privilege to be bestowed by an author on one who is going to compile and edit for him. So, I cannot but be grateful to him for his vesting so much faith in me and the present volume may be deemed a humble tribute from a student of Iqbal to a scholar who has set himself up both in India and Pakistan and in the outer world. According to the arrangement, the book begins with a biographical controversy regarding the date of birth of Allama Iqbal, an issue which did not come up till as late as 1973 when the question of celebrating his birth centenary arose in India and Pakistan, and abroad. The issue was first raised in India in which All

India Radio showed a keen interest. Prof. Azad discussed this question under the title 'When was Iqbal born?' with reference to various sources both inland and outland, and it is going to form the caption of the Chapter II of the present volume. The opinion regarding his year of birth even varied from 1873 through 1877 which latter was taken from Iqbal's dissertation presented to the Munich University (now GDR), placing his date on the 3rd Dhi Qa'd, 1294 A.H. (convertible to 9th of November, 1877), which got confirmation both from Dr. Javid Iqbal, Dr. Iqbal's son, and Sheikh Ijaz Ahmad, his nephew. Consequently, Allama Iqbal's birth centenary was celebrated, at most of the places in Pakistan and abroad, in the year 1977. Prof. Azad has played the pioneer role as his is the first research study on the subject.

Chapter III of the book entitled "Indian Background of Iqbal's Poetry" is one of the strongest articles from the author. The opening sentence is instructive : "Iqbal suffered most at the hands of his commentators who have been presenting him as a revivalist or a politician unmindful of the rich heritage of Indian culture and civilization". He pertinently remarks, "If Iqbal had not been viewed through the narrow vision of some of his critics, his message of universal brotherhood would have shone forth with greater brilliance........" He is very right in contending that Iqbal's genius is not to be fettered within narrow jackets which will kill the very spirit of his universal message. He rightly maintains that in so far as Iqbal was born and nurtured in India, the impact of the Indian culture on his thought was inevitable. His remarks that Iqbal was in love "with the philosophy of the Vedas and Upanishads, with the wisdom of Rishis, Munis, Darveshes and Faqirs" cannot be gainsaid, for Iqbal appreciated all that appealed to him in any culture, religion

and philosophy; also, he had firm roots in Indian culture himself being a Kashmiri Brahmin. In fact, Iqbal could not have escaped the Indian influence, including Hindu philosophy, which provided him with the setting for his later poetical and philosophical builds-up. His praise for the Lords Rama and Karishna, his appreciation for Bhartari Hari, the Hindu poet, and his love for the Muslim saints of India are quite patent and need no comments. Again, his acclaim for Tipu and Nawab Sirrajud Daula, the two great Indian martyrs, and other renowned Indian personages all have a marked local reference. Moreover, if Indian culture is not to be confined to Hindu culture only, then there is no denying the fact that Iqbal accepted deep local influences which went a long way to form the warp and woof of his thought.

Iqbal did not accept what was sublime in Indian culture only, for he benefitted from almost all the prevalent cultures and systems of thought, including influences from Hindu, Persian, Arabian, Turkish, and the Western cultures and civilizations which constituted the main edifice of his thought, though Islam always remained the 'guiding principle' pervading his whole art and thought. In fact, Iqbal owes the universal and cosmopolitan spirit of his message to these varied sources of his own system. Prof. Azad bears out this contention when he refers to "Hindustani Bachchon ka Geet" where both Nanak and Kh. Moinud Din Chishti unanimously preach the oneness of God. However, as one advances with Iqbal's progress of thought, one feels a gradual shift, both in style and content, in his poetry from the local setting towards the Persian-cum-Arabian frame-work, which is in itself very significant. This, however, should not be taken to mean that Iqbal left the local tinge completely behind. The author has rendered an invaluable service in bringing home these local

influences which many a commentator tend to overlook in their love for Islam, an oversight liable to limit and distort presentation of Iqbal's thought. He interprets "Jahan Dost" in *Javid-Namah* as "Shivji Maharaj" (and not as "Vishwamitra" as it is commonly rendered), who "has many attributes, and his friendship of the world is one of them; therefore, he is described as "Jahan Dost" by Iqbal, who visualises him as personification of Hindu philosophy". In *Javid-Namah*, Iqbal meets Bhartari Hari among other illustrious personalities in the Gardens of Paradise ('Beyond the Firmaments'). What is important, Iqbal comes across people from many lands and cultures, irrespective of their religions, in his flight through the Spheres and Beyond the Firmaments. His dialogue with Tipu figures round the plight of India after the British domination. In the 'Sphere of Moon', Iqbal presents Lord Buddha, Zoroaster, the Christ, and Muhammad (peace be upon them) as the four sages and representatives of the four leading civilizations of the world known to history. The author acutely remarks that "Iqbal's vision comprises a thousand phases of mundane as well as spiritual and philosophical" reality, regretting that "the narrow-focussed eyes of some are capable of seeing only a very limited portion of the whole being. Even that limited portion is,........, viewed imperfectly, and from an angle of bias". He warns that while interpreting Iqbal's thought one should not look through any religious or political bias. This chapter is of great significance from this point of view. The Western scholars have compared Iqbal to Dante and Milton, while Prof. Azad has added to his greatness by comparing him to the genius of Aurobindoo and Abul Kalam Azad, the two great Indian scholars known the world over.

In the very beginning of the chapter IV entitled "Iqbal: Poet and Politician", the author discusses a press report

which gives the impression that if Iqbal is a "politician or a philosopher of Islamic ideology", then "he was not an advocate of human unity". Against this position the author contends that "It was as a politician and a philosopher of Islamic ideology that he gave to the world his concept of international brotherhood". He goes on to add that "Iqbal's entire system of thought crumbles down if we deny him the honoured position of a philosopher of Islamic ideology in the comity of world thinkers, so rightly deserved by him". "His lectures on Islam that he delivered at Madras, Hyderabad, Mysore and Aligarh in 1928 established his position as a philosopher of Islamic ideology". Prof. Azad rightly complains that the approach of some of his "worshipping critics" will not lead us "either to an objective analysis of Iqbal's system of thought or to a critical appreciation of his poetry", and goes on to advise, "The sooner we free ourselves of this exercise in futility, the better for the critics and Iqbal both". He adds, "Instead of advocating Iqbal's nationalism irrationally or making frantic efforts to defend him as a "patriot", we should try to understand what he meant by life which, according to him, "is not a completed act but an evolutionary process". The author also warns that it will not help if we try to fit his system of thought into the present day "secular approach to life and politics"; it will yield disastrous consequences. Also, Iqbal's political views should not detract from his "importance as an artist". Iqbal's view of religion is not "communalism" as is obvious from his references to "the Holy Prophet, the Quran and Islam as also to Bhagwad Geeta, Lord Krishna, Rama and Gautama the Buddha....." Prof. Azad urges that Iqbal's approach to Islam, as the very title of his lectures indicates, "was not in a traditional way, but based on a modern outlook".

Prof. Azad answers the question 'Whether Iqbal was a politician?' by quoting from V.G. Kiernan's *poems from Iqbal*, where he believes that Iqbal was "a political poet". He also quotes the Quaid-i-Azam who remarked after Iqbal's death, "He was president of the Provincial Muslim League of the Punjab till a very recent time, when his unforeseen illness compelled nim to resign, but he was the staunchest and most loyal champion of the policy and programme of the All India Muslim League". He also quotes "The Statesman", New Delhi (dt. April 23, 1938) as saying, "In the formative constitutional period of the twenties and early thirties, Sir Muhammad Iqbal took a leading part in Indian politics, attending the Round Table Conferences, and presiding at Muslim Conferences in this country. He gave the Muslims good leadership and shrewd advice". These statements should suffice to dispel doubts in some minds who are reluctant to consider Iqbal as an active politician, for they prove that he lived a full political life over a pretty long period. He took the initiative to advocate the idea of a separate homeland for the Indian Muslims, specifying even the territory in his Allahabad Presidential Address (1930). Prof. Azad, however, refers to Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru's last meeting with the poet, quoting the former, "Iqbal was one of the early advocates of Pakistan and yet he appears to have realised its inherent danger and absurdity". The author quotes from Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan also who, on the basis of his meeting with Iqbal in 1937, writes in *Yadon ki Dunya* that Iqbal "was very anxious about the future of Indian Muslims........unless they have a separate state, their religion and culture will be in jeopardy". However, the author projects the Indian point of view when he concludes that the "so-called modern and liberal criticism of Iqbal needs a lot to learn from Jawaharlal Nehru's balanced

and objective study of Iqbal in so far as methodology of criticism is concerned". He will, I am sure, agree with me that the issue needs some more thorough research as there are other relevant sources also which need be tapped before drawing any final conclusion in the matter which is very important as regards the future political history of this region. The author, however, very acutely remarks that "Iqbal's greatness does not lie in his political views but in his creative art......." He suggests that while discussing Iqbal's position on Pakistan and pan-Islamism, one must "analyse the issue in the context of socio-political conditions prevailing in the sub-continent in the days of Iqbal". In the poet's rejection of the Western type of 'nationalism', the author compares him with Karl Marx and Tagore, who were no less "disgusted and fed up with the concept of nationalism bordering on narrow nationalism". Iqbal's rejection was based on his seeing in it "the germs of atheistic materialism, which I look upon as the greatest danger to modern humanity" (to quote Iqbal himself). The author remarks here that "Rightly or wrongly, he applied the same principle to the conditions prevailing in the Indian sub-continent". A deep and thorough analysis of the indigenous conditions, however, and especially the presence of multi-nationality in India, would amply justify Iqbal's approach to the local problems of his time.

On the issue of Pan-Islamism, Prof. Azad quotes Dr. M. Sadiq (of Pakistan) who wrote in *A History of Urdu Literature* that Pan-Islamism was as old as Islam itself and took its origination from the Prophet's famous saying that all Muslims were brethren. He goes on to remark with reference to Iqbal's position, "Pan-Islamism is,......, pure moonshine, an iridescent bubble with which Iqbal used to beguile his vision-

ary moments". On the authority of Dr. Qazi Abdul Hamid he adds that his views in regard to Pan-Islamism were completely changed towards the end of his life. The author also quotes from Sheikh Abdullah, the present Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, "Iqbal advised me to convert the Muslim Conference into the National Conference". All these claims and statements are quite interesting as far as Iqbal's political thought goes, and if we take Sheikh Sahib's statement seriously then Iqbal had shifted even to nationalism, the one concept on which, perhaps, the poet never reconciled till he drew his last breath. However, all these writers throw the impression that Iqbal was committing follies throughout his life which he rectified towards the end of his life for fear of retribution. If we pool together the claims of Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. M. Sadiq, Dr. Qazi Abdul Hamid and Sheikh M. Abdullah, then Iqbal looks like an habitual sinner who has been sinning all his life and makes a clean breast of his sins towards the end of his life. Prof. Azad, however, describes Pt. Nehru's and Dr. Sadiq's analytical study of Iqbal's political thought as "far more academic and realistic than that of Iqbal's so-called admirers......"

The most significant is the last section of this chapter where the author discusses Iqbal "As a Poet", remarking that it was more in the capacity of a poet than any other capacity that Iqbal was to be assessed. He begins with Iqbal's critics in the field of poetry. Ehsan Danish once observed, "Iqbal is just a versifier and not a poet"; S. Sinha described Iqbal's poetry "as unmusical and lacking in rhythem"; and S. Abdul Latif, after a man-to-man comparison, gives an edge to Hali over Iqbal in point of "simplicity, clearness, grace and beauty of language and diction", concluding that Iqbal's "art does not by any means reach the standard and excel-

lance of that of Hali; and in fact does not show any clear traces of the influence of the forms and technique of English poetry such as the other does". According to Kaleemud Din Ahmad, "Iqbal has no place in world literature" adding that "a very small number of Iqbal's poems will come upto the standard of real poetry....." And above all, Dr. Sadiq's analysis reveals that "Iqbal's poetry, as is well known, is heavily charged with the erotic diction and imagery of the ghazal". He goes on to place Iqbal in the category of, what Prof. Lowes calls, "poets of low vitality who enclose themselves like hermit-crabs, generation after generation, in the cast-off shells of their predecessors". Prof. Azad has heavily quoted from these critics. However, I do not feel myself competent on this aspect of Iqbal's art except that his poetry has been acknowledged and recognised for its distinctive poetical qualities not only inlands, but also outlands, including melody and metre. I will simply quote such a great authority on literary criticism as Sir Herbert Read in this connection. In his article "Readers and Writers" published in *The New Age* (Aug. 25, 1921) he writes, in the light of Whitman's critical ideal : "Applying it here and now, I can think of only one living poet who in any way sustained the test,.......... I mean Muhammad Iqbal,.........." He made these comments when R. A. Nicholson translated his *'Asrar-i-Khudi* into English. Prof. Azad imputes this misappropriation about Iqbal's poetry to the fact that very little work has been done on Iqbal as a poet. However, he also bifurcates his poetry from his philosophy like other men of Urdu literature, though adding that the enormous success of Iqbal's poetic diction has been due to "the reflected glory of his philosophy and politics". Again, Iqbal's philosophy provides 'content' for his poetry and hence is inseparable from it.

Prof. Azad, however, has rightly stressed the need for "a proper and fuller assessment of the formal aspect of Iqbal's poetry,......" Now, there is no doubt that there has always been a need for such an assessment, not only in the case of Iqbal, but in the case of any poet or literatteur for that matter. The author has rightly condemned the 'so-called admirers' of Iqbal, but has let off his 'so-called critics' like Dr. M. Sadiq, Syyed Abdul Latif, S. Sinha, and others, whom he takes up in the next chapter.

The next chapter, chapter V, entitled "Iqbal: His Poetry and Philosophy" is a rebuttal of the so-called critics of Iqbal's poetry, and is, therefore, a complementary to the last one. The two chapters combine to present Iqbal's famous trio of poetry, politics and philosophy. The author opens the chapter with the remarks, "Dr. Muhammad Iqbal was not only a great poet, he was also a great thinker". He quotes from Mazhar-ud-Din Siddiqui, "Iqbal's was the keenest mind so far produced by the Muslims of the Indo-Pak sub-continent". Dr. Sinha, however, charges him with fascist leanings, Al-i-Ahmad Saroor calls him a socialist; Firaq Gorakhpuri refers to Iqbal as a communalist which opinion Dr. M. D. Taseer confirmed in *Aspects of Iqbal*, adding, "He is as communal as Homer, Dante, Milton and Kalidas, who utilise and refer frequently to gods, myths, beliefs and symbols of their various cultural and religious groups". M. R. Stepanyants says that he was a reactionary; and according to K. G. Syyadain, Iqbal was a progressive; while Cantwell Smith describes him as both a progressive and a reactionary. Pt. Nehru in his *Discovery of India* says that during his later years "Iqbal turned more and more towards socialism". Dr. A. Schimmel sums up with the remarks that Iqbal was "a many-sided personality", a phrase which accounts for the

fact that Iqbal has been presented in so many different colours, for a true philosopher's thought-dimensions stem from his personality-dimensions. The author acutely remarks, "Perhaps, India has not produced a more controversial figure in the domain of literature". He describes him as "an amalgam of a seer, a poet and a philosopher", which explains his multitudinous personality and thought. To Iqbal, the fundamental purpose of life was "to ensure the happiness of man through the cooperation of mankind", says Prof. Azad. Iqbal did not claim to be a philosopher. He once said, "No doubt, I talk of things in which philosophers are also interested. But with me these things are matters of living experience and not of philosophical reasoning (quoted from *"Eminent Musalmans,* Madras, 1926). The author points out that "Iqbal's philosophical approach is unique in that its progress can be measured by the kind of questions he asks rather than by the success with which he answers them". It is not, however, only the kind of questions, but rather the way he looks at things which, to my mind, makes him a true philosopher. Iqbal took life seriously like a true philosopher, and whole of his thought figured round it. In fact, he did not believe in 'system-building' like the old Greek masters on the ground that such systems did not have their footings on the earth. Prof. Azad has very rightly said that "Iqbal is not contented to describe bare facts of life. He wished to ascertain their relation to experience in general and thereby to get out its meaning and its worth". This makes his approach truly philosophical.

Iqbal's approach to religion is neither literal nor fundamentalist. He urges in the very beginning of the *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* that "Philosophy,........,

has jurisdiction to judge religion,.......", thus assigning superiority to philosophy over religion; but it also shows his search for "a rationally-founded, and not a blind faith". Again, in his lecture on "The Human Ego–His Freedom and Immortality" he says, "The only course open to us is to approach modern knowledge with a respectful but independent attitude and to appreciate the teachings of Islam in the light of that knowledge, even though we may be led to differ from those who have gone before us". In fact, Iqbal rejects what is stationary and 'dead' in religion, for religion to him is a living stream. He condemns later schools of Sufism for the selfsame reason of rendering religion too rigid and 'fixed'. Iqbal was a modernist in his approach to religion and was out for reconstruction of religious thought in Islam as is obvious from the very title of his lectures. He regrets that religious thought in Islam has been stationary over the last five hundred years and believes that "Man marches always onwards to receive ever fresh illuminations from an Infinite Reality which every moment appears in a new glory". Thus, there should always be an onward movement in Islamic religious thought or, at least, in our approach to it. In Appendix 'B' Letter-II, the author discusses Iqbal's position that religion is not a private affair, a fact which the Western mind fails to understand. The author quotes from Sh. Mahmud Ahmad that "without a sympathetic grasp of it a substantial portion of Iqbal becomes unintelligible.......Islam......., is at once a religion, a social movement and a way of life. It, therefore, cannot countenance any duality of the spiritual and the temporal......Iqbal feared that if under the cultural impact of the West, Muslims assumed its orientation of duality of the spiritual and the temporal, it would not only sunder the contact of their life with the fountain-head of their spiritual

values, but would also stultify Islam as a social movement and a way of life".

The author discusses next the important relationship between poetry and philosophy in Iqbal under the sub-title "Art and Thought". According to him, Iqbal agreed with Coleridge, one of the greatest lyricists of all times, that "it is great thought-content that lends greatness to art" (to use author's own words who goes on to add, "and this aptly applies to Iqbal"). However, the author adds, Iqbal "used poetry as an effective medium to express man's unending resolve for self-assertion and his courage to explore secrets of the universe and to conquer new horizons". This view gets confirmation from Iqbal's own Urdu verse,

مری نوائے پریشاں کو شاعری نہ سمجھ
کہ میں ہوں محرمِ رازِ درونِ میخانہ

'Do not take my lamentations for poetry,
for I am conversant with the inner sects of
the tavern'.

According to this verse, poetry was at best a means of expression with Iqbal, although he wrote a poetry of highest order by any standard. Iqbal believed that art was never for the sake of art, it was rather for the sake of life, i.e. it was subservient to life. Prof. Azad points out that Iqbal's poetry has innovatory quality which "in the development of art has shown itself first and foremost in the fact that it has developed and brought to the fore positive human characters". He pertinently adds, "For Iqbal art is not only a part of main-stream of life but also an active agent of change". Dr. Sadiq had accused Iqbal of limited vocabulary; Prof. Azad urges, "The limited vocabulary of Urdu lyric, panegyric and elegy

was too inadequate for this purpose, but the master craftsman in Iqbal imparted new flexibility to the traditional symbols and fresh adaptability to the idiom, borrowing freely from the rich heritage of both Sanskrit and Persian on the one hand, and European literature on the other. In the process Urdu literature acquired new vitality and a universality of outlook seldom noticed in poets of smaller calibre". In this passage the author meets most of the criticism generally brought against Iqbal's poetry, including that discussed in the last chapter.

Iqbal's poetry is fraught with humanism. Prof. Azad remarks, "His verses on the subject of greatness of man are a promise, a prophecy, a demand presented to the immediate future". Iqbal dilated on the high stature of man, showing full faith in his latent powers and his capability of, not only snaring angels, but rather throwing his noose onto God. Again, the author appreciates in Iqbal's poetry the "unparallelled ability to react swiftlyto the spirit of the modern age". "The stirring march of time in Europe, Asia and Africa", says the author, "provided Iqbal with fresh sources of inspiration and induced him indirectly to reflect in his works the profound changes that took place in the world. He did not only register the brisk tempo of life, but also translated it into the language of art". He holds that "Iqbal's poetry has a universal appeal mainly because there is political wisdom and a calm optimism in all his poems. His strength, like Goethe's, lies in the fact that he is not only a teacher or a thinker but also, and chiefly, a prophet of humanity". The author recounts two powerful impulses to artistic expression in Iqbal, viz. (i) "man's unique position in the universe" (ii) "his faith in the human capacity for limitless develop-

ment". Both of these are necessary conditions for humanism. As said before, Prof. Azad imputes Iqbal's universality to his 'political wisdom and a calm optimism' in his poems. This is partly true, but one really important factor, to my mind, contributing to universality was his deep faith in the abiding and eternal religious and spiritual values but for which, Iqbal believed, the whole universe would have been reduced to an impossible kind of materialism against which he was waging war throughout his life. Even his political wisdom and the sense of optimism Iqbal drew from these very religious and spiritual values. It may be noted that what directly dominates in, and pervades through, his whole thought is the spiritual aspect, and not anything of political value. To him even 'state' was an objectification of the basic spiritual principles of life. The author remarks that Iqbal "not only expanded the thematic borders of poetry but also increased the range of its means of expression". What is characteristic of his poetry according to Azad, is the treatment of problems relating to life, ethics and norms of behaviour which had not been treated in classical Urdu literature, still less in poetry. Remarking on Iqbal's view of history the author says, "It is this approach to history that enables Iqbal not to varnish or modernise the past, but to recreate it poetically". He goes on to add, "Taken in their sum, the varied and various works of Iqbal present a poetical picture of the people which can be seen nowhere else in Urdu or Indian Persian literature". And like a true connoisseur the author says, "The blending of the romantic and the realistic, the roots of which go back to the classics,has reached fruition in Iqbal's poetry". Herein lies a great tribute to Iqbal's poetic genius and a befitting reply to his 'so-called critics'.

In chapter VI entitled "Iqbal, Schopenhauer and the

Quran", the author enters into the realm of modern philosophy, though as a literatteur. This short chapter begins with a passage from *Pyam-i-Mashriq*, Iqbal's reply to Goethe's 'Western Diwan', and offers a brief comparison of Schopenhauer's and Nietzsche's thought as presented by Iqbal in his various writings. The author has tried to deal with the subject from a literary point of view. The subject is in itself important in so far as it throws light on Iqbal's own thought, though indirectly. While comparing the two Western thinkers, Iqbal shows a liking for Nietzsche's thought. He condemns Schopenhauer for his "extremely pessimistic view" of the world, his "negation of the Will" which he takes for a "blind force", and his denial of the freedom of Will; on the contrary, he appreciates Nietzsche for his belief in "the strength of the Will", his "affirmation of the being of the world", his doctrine of "the Eternal Recurrence" which Iqbal describes as "one positive view of immortality" in modern thought, and above all, for his 'inner mental life' which Iqbal describes as not "without a parallel in the history of Eastern Sufism". Prof. Azad points out that Iqbal has here referred to the more genuine schools of Sufism, what he calls 'Devotional Sufism', which in the words of Iqbal, "have done good work in shaping and directing the evolution of religious experience in Islam". Iqbal, however, regrets that Nietzsche failed in his great mission due to "his intellectual progenitors such as Schopenhauer, Darwin and Lange". Iqbal epitomizes his acclaim for Nietzsche in the phrase "the modern prophet" whose 'heart' was faithful, but 'intellect' was infidel. Again, Iqbal's meeting with Nietzsche at the threshold of the Paradise (Beyond the Firmaments) in *Javid-Namah*, amply reflects his respect for the German philosopher. It also means that Nietzsche touched the fringe of the genuine spiritual

experience, though he failed to cash in owing to his atheistic and materialistic Western legacy. Prof. Azad also undertakes a comparative study of Nietzsche's 'Superman' and Iqbal's 'Mard-i-Momin' in the current chapter as well as in Appendix 'B', Letter-III where, contending against the position of Farhat Ullah Khan, the author stresses that "to say that Iqbal was not influenced by Nietz sche is a view not borne by Iqbal's own writings. Nietzsche appears to have influenced Iqbal a great deal". Now, in this connection it will suffice to allude to Iqbal's letter to Prof. R. A. Nicholson where he expressly says that he had carved out his own notion of 'Mard-i-Momin' under the inspiration of al-Jilli and Ibnul Arabi long before he happened to read the philosophy of Nietzsche. Also, I quite agree with Farhat Ullah Khan that "there is not much common between Iqbal's Mard-i-Momin and Nietzsche's Superman".

Prof. Azad urges that Iqbal has somewhat misconstrued Schopenhauer's thought. He refers to Schopenhauer's "approbation of Kant's philosophy", and questions if we can call a philosopher pessimistic "who lays down the condition that for a proper understanding of his book an acquaintance with the works of Kant is a must". Prof. Azad states how Schopenhauer, while describing the course of man's life "as necessarily pre-determined as the course of a clock", urges that "man can surely do what he wills to do, but he cannot determine what he wills". Now, this cannot be called freedom of will in any sense of the word as it is commonly understood in morals and metaphysics. Again, he refers to Schopenhauer's acknowledgement of having been influenced by the Upanishads which teach, says the author, "the same meliorism, which, according to Iqbal, is the crux of the teachings of the Holy Quran". But granting that he was influenced

by the Hindu thought, it is, perhaps, hard to find out melioristic traces in his system by any stretch of imagination. The word 'meliorism' as used by Iqbal does not simply mean 'a search for truth'; it is rather the view which, says Iqbal, "recognises a growing universe and is animated by the hope of man's eventual victory over evil". There is no such element of improvement or hope present in the philosophy of Schopenhauer. Farhat Ullah Khan, in his comments on, Iqbal's poetry, has very aptly remarked that we should not "confuse Iqbai's state of grief (kaifyat-i-gham) with Schopenhauer's gloom and cynical approach to life" (cf. Appendex 'B', Letter-III).

Chapter VII, entitled "Iqbal, Islam and the Modern World" brings to head the author's discussion on Iqbal's quarternity of poetry, politics, philosophy and religion. In this chapter he shifts from philosophy to religion to complete the quarternity. He begins with the remarks that Iqbal's lectures entitled *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* "occupy a unique place in the world library of philosophical thought". Iqbal himself attached great importance to them. The author quotes verses from *Javid-Namah* in which Iqbal drew "a line between his poetical works and prose works, describing the former one as a "wail of ecstasy" and the latter one as "with a sting" and "a knotty expression after the style of Europe"......." In the words of Prof. Azad, Iqbal conceived of philosophy as "a sincere endeavour to see the truth, face to face, by the inner concentration of man to contemplate the ultimate reality including the world and even beyond". He condemned abstract philosophy in *Bal-i-Jibreel* as "keeping you away from life" and in *Pyam-i-Mashriq* thus: "More the intellect opens its wings to soar, more in bondage it finds itself". According to the author,

Iqbal has presented in his system "a synthetic and balanced approach to the two tendencies—'know in order to believe' and 'believe in order to know' ". He compares his thought to Indian philosophy in regard to its practical leanings. To Iqbal, philosophy should be in a position to provide rational foundation to religion. "Iqbal is conscious of the fact", says Azad, "that it is only by keeping pace with the human thought and experience, resulting in the discoveries in the physical and metaphysical world, that Islam can continue to be a living force". This statement, however, misconstrues the real spirit of Islam, for Iqbal never meant that we should force Islamic teachings into modern jackets; he rather meant that Islam is always modern in spirit and outlook, which simply needs to be discovered. Islam does not require any external help in order to survive. Iqbal will not agree with Cantwell Smith that the first development of modernism in Islam "was the working out of a liberal Islam compatible with the nineteenth-century West, similar to it in its general outlook, and especially in harmony with its science, its business method, and its humanitarianism". Islamic spirit is in itself so modern that it need not borrow anything from modern science or humanitarianism; it rather can teach a lot on social and moral grounds to the West which is still groping in racialism and nationalism, the two strong unhumanitarian forces. Cantwell Smith's remarks, "The recent progressive phase of Islamic modernism has appealed to those who look to the future rather than to either the present or the past"; are again based on misconceiving Islam which is basically a forward-looking religion, a religion which betrays immense faith in the future of mankind.

Prof. Azad rightly urges that in his reconstruction of religious thought Iqbal "traces the secret for rational found-

ations in Islam to the words and deeds of the Holy Prophet". What is most important in Iqbal is that he describes the spiritual movement of Islam towards the West as "the most remarkable phenomenon of the modern history". He approves of it on the ground that "European culture, on its intellectual side, is only a further development of some of the most important phases of the culture of Islam". However, he sounds a timely warning lest the dazzling exterior of the European culture should arrest our development, "and we may fail to reach the inwardness of that culture". In fact, Iqbal's approach to Islam is forward-looking with his feet firmly grounded in the past where the fundamental principles of Islam lie. The position of Islam vis-a-vis the West is today the same as it was in the times of early Muslim philosophers who received inspiration from the Greeks, for today again the West is excessively rational and empirical as Iqbal says in *Darb-i-Kaleem* (cf. "a letter from Europe");

ہم خوگر محسوس ہیں ساحل کے خریدار

"We, the lovers of senses, go for the shore;

The ancient Greek thought was too rationalistic and Islam came as a corrective force; modern Europe has carried empiricism, which she learnt from Islam, to its extremes, and Islam is again needed to check it by teaching spiritual and social values. Thus, what is required is a study of the real spirit of Islam which can better be understood if we equip ourselves with modern knowledge and not that we should read the Quran in the light of that knowledge. Islam is the truth, and it is the halmark of the truth that any impartial research brings one closer to it: in short, every new illumination of truth should bring us closer to Islam, says Iqbal. Herein lies the importance of modern research and know-

ledge. Thus, the findings of modern science do not come as a surprise to it, for they are imbued in the very nature of Islam itself.

Besides being corrective of any extremist approach to life and the universe, the spirit of Islam is also 'moderating' as well as revolutionary. As Iqbal says, "The teachings of the Quran, which believes in the possibility of improvement of the behaviour of man, and his control over natural forces, is neither optimism nor pessimism. It is meliorism, which recognises a growing universe and is animated by the hope of man's eventual victory over evil". This explains that nothing true is alien to the spirit of Islam and, therefore, any step forward to the unification of humanity or to the conquest of natural forces for the benefit of man is already ingrained in that very spirit. Islam shows immense faith in the potentialities and capabilities of man which prepare him for the most gigantic task of conquering the universe and then going beyond it into the realm of the 'divine', which is the final goal of man's quest; and it is in this very faith that Islam's 'humanism' lies. Prof. Azad, in his criticism of Miss Stepanyants, acutely remarks, "I am afraid Miss Stepanyants has rather tried to over-simplify the issue which concerns the future of Islam in the whole world. Miss Stepanyants, perhaps, ignores an important point that with the advancement of scientific thought the concept of intelligibility is also undergoing a change......It is in this context that in the words of Iqbal, "the younger generation of Islam in Asia and Africa demands a fresh orientation of their faith". It is this reorientation of Islamic ideology by Iqbal which Miss Stepanyants has confused with finding 'points of contact between Muslim philosophy and the modern theory of the West' ". "With the re-awakening of Islam", Iqbal adds, ".......,

it is necessary to examine, in an independent spirit, what Europe has thought and how far the conclusions reached by her can help in the revision and, if necessary, reconstruction of theological thought in Islam". The author remarks that her theory of 'points of contact' crumbles in view of the above excerpt from Iqbal, and thereby he confirms my view of Islam given above. As said before, modern science and knowledge are, in fact, proving what the Quran laid down dogmatically, e.g. the concept of an expanding universe unknown to the Greeks, the destiny of man "to become a permanent element in the constitution of being", and so on. The human mind is now reaching these important conclusions on its own resources after a lapse of centuries.

Prof. Azad describes mysticism in Islam or Sufism as "the religious philosophy of Islam" which is, perhaps, not true. For Sufism, as the history of Islam reveals, emerged much later under the impact of alien influences, and the orthodox have always looked askance at it. Islam, it is certain, never claimed to be a form of mysticism, and the author has very rightly pointed out that Iqbal was against all forms of "religious formalism"; and mysticism, in all its forms, tends to degenerate into formalism. This is why Iqbal rejected Sufism in its later developments at least. It may be noted that some forms of Sufism have claimed to be Islamic, but the onus operandi is on those who make such pretensions. No doubt, Iqbal was the first writer on the history of mystical thought in Iran (cf. his Ph. D. thesis), but the author acknowledges that Iqbal condemned some of the greatest mystic poets like Hafiz of Shiraz in his Mathnavi *Asrar-i-Khudi*, for giving the lesson of 'passivity' and 'escape'. This condemnation brought Iqbal much under fire in India as the author has quoted from some of his critics, and this forced Iqbal to

clarify his position on Sufism. In the words of the author. "Iqbal's concept of Sufism is that it should function as a source of courage, heroism and self-sacrifice and not as a fountain-head of resignation and inactivity". Iqbal acknowledges that "The more genuine schools of Sufism have, no doubt, done good work in shaping and directing the evolution of religious experience in Islam;......" (e.g. 'Devotional Sufism'). How aptly the author remarks that "Iqbal does not accept the theory that the sufistic order is ascetic, world-neglecting, static and life-destroying. The real sufistic order according to Iqbal , is dynamic, pragmatic and inspired by spiritual vision. It does not ignore the natural motives before humanity and aims at evolving a civilization which is socially just, aesthetically beautiful and spiritually integral". This statement of the author gives a beautiful account of Iqbal's view of Islam and Sufism. In his words, Iqbal teaches "a synthesis of resignation to the will of God and desire to bold action. As a living example of this combination Iqbal refers to the life of the Holy Prophet......" In his lecture on "The Spirit of Muslim Culture", Iqbal proceeds to present a very incisive and exclusive difference between the prophetic and the mystic forms of consciousness. Bringing to light the active view of Sufism as given by Iqbal the author writes, "Iqbal's approach to genuine sufism is closely related to his philosophy of Self and philosophy of action so much so that the study of the one automatically leads to the study of the other".

The author remarks that on his view of Sufism Iqbal "does not discriminate between a Muslim and a non-Muslim, and significantly enough between a Muslim and a Hindu" and adds, that "while he refers to the teachings of Shaikh Mohyid-Din Ibnul Arabi as un-Islamic, he describes the teachings of

Lord Krishna as extremely close to the Islamic way of life". He bases this on Iqbal's 'Preface' to *Asrar-i-Khudi* where he praises Lord Krishna for his intellectual acumen and analysis that "passivity does not mean renunciation of Action, as Action is inherent in human nature and forms the base of life. Renunciation, according to Lord Krishna, means that one should remain unconcerned with the results of Action". While remarking on the philosophy of "Ego" Iqbal says that "there appears to be a strange resemblance between the intellectual history of Muslims and that of the Hindus". Iqbal, however, regrets that as Shankracharya misinterpreted the Geeta, so Ibnul Arabi interpreted the Quran in such a way that his followers made 'pantheism' a part of the Islamic thought, and this impact lasted in the history of Islam for centuries. Now, there is no doubt that Krishna's interpretation of the Geeta comes closer to Islam and Iqbal's own thought in certain important respects; but in fairness to Ibnul Arabi, it may be pointed out that Iqbal misconstrued this great rationalist sufi like so many of his orthodox co-religionists. Ibnul Arabi, as A. E. Affifi has brought out in his book *The Mystical Philosophy of Mohyid Din Ibnul Arabi*, understood states of 'fana' and 'baqa' metaphorically rather than literally. Moreover, in his *Fasus-al-Hikm*, Ibnul Arabi has presented a very beautiful blend of "Wahdatul Wajud" and "Wahdatush-shuhud". It is ignorance of these facts which has led many of his commentators and critics, including Iqbal, to misconception and misinterpretation.

Next comes Iqbal's view of 'pantheism', a more general and wider term than 'Sufism'. Prof. Azad quotes from his last compilation *Armughan-i-Hidjaz* (pb. posthumously in 1938) to show that Iqbal reverted to pantheism towards the

end of his life, a view which he advocated in his early poetry before 1908. It may, however, be added that a poet's position cannot be assessed on the bases of a few verses, especially when taken out of context (i.e. 'contextual fallacy'). Moreover, as Prof, R. A. Nicholson has acutely remarked in *The Idea of Personality in Sufism*, regarding Sufism, "So long as transcendence is recognised, the most emphatic assertion of immanence is not pantheism but panentheism–not the doctrine that all is God, but the doctrine that all is *in* God, who is also above all". Again, the basic idea in the last work of Iqbal referred to above, says the author, is the 'respect for mankind', which is far removed from any touch of pantheism. He quotes the verse as key to the book :

آدمیت احترام آدمی
باخبر شو از مقام آدمی

'Humanity is respect of man, it is being
conversant with the exalted status of man'
(Address to Javid : Javid-Namah)

Iqbal prays for love "which would enable him to impart to the whole world a message of brotherhood and fraternity", says Prof. Azad. When he remarks that this "sentiment of love and brotherhood, which runs throughout Iqbal's poetry, does not leave the subject of patriotism untouched", he is, in fact, alluding to the motley variety of aspects of his thought. Patriotism is, at best, a part of Iqbal's humanism for he did not believe in mere abstractions. Again, the author points out that Iqbal undertook to write his last compilation

"not for a speculative but for a practical end", which again shows that his leanings were by no means pantheistic in the patent sense. Iqbal champions the concept of the "greatness of mankind" to his last work, which is not very compatible with popular pantheism. Thus, there is little evidence that Iqbal ever advocated pantheism or reverted to it in his later life. In his recent biography of Iqbal, *Danae Raaz* (pb. Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 1979), one of Iqbal's close associates, Syed Nazeer Niazi, expressly says that from an early age Iqbal and his father did not believe in traditional Sufism; they rather followed that line of Sufism which had its roots in the teachings of al-Ghazali, and had the personality of man for its focus and believed in struggle of life and in the conquest of the worlds. This has been the very pith of Iqbal's whole thought as even a cursory study would reveal. It accounts for the central concepts of 'Self' or 'Ego' and 'Action' in Iqbal.

According to Prof. Azad, there is a frequent reference to the past in Iqbal. This, however, does not justify in calling him 'nostalgic', for he himself goes on to add that Iqbal's looking to the past was by no means an end in itself. He says, "With his eyes on the past he focusses his vision on the future". He continues, "Even in his poems like "Khizr-i-Rah"........and "Tulu-i-Islam"......wherein he is grasped by the past glory of Islam, he, in between the lines, is in communication with the future". Iqbal's frequent references to the Quran, says he, "are not references to a book thirteen hundred years old, but to one "which emphasizes deed rather than idea" ". "After Sir Syyed Ahmad Khan, Iqbal was the first Muslim intellectual in India to have realised the importance of modern science and Western philosophical thinking". Iqbal not only stressed upon the importance of modern

knowledge, he also observed that "it was a prerogative of the man to conquer nature through scientific advancement". Though Iqbal had criticised Western civilization at places, "he has commended its achievements in the domain of science and modern knowledge", as said before. Iqbal points out that the early Muslim thinkers "did not draw a line between the spiritual progress and the worldly progress. Spiritual progress and worldly progress, according to him, are the two aspects of the same issue". Here again Prof. Azad has brought home to the reader Iqbal's respect for modern achievements in knowledge and research. Iqbal, thus, relates past with the future, spiritual with the mundane, with a view to carving out a most comprehensive and exhaustive picture of the real.

Iqbal's was a non-partisan's approach on all matters, a fact which Prof. Azad has very beautifully brought out in his papers forming chapters of the present volume. In his own support he quotes from Dr. M. D. Taseer that Iqbal "in practical politics too, as always in his poetry, remained above party politics......" The author adds, that "Iqbal has an international outlook and only the permanent and the universal have a prominent place in his system of thought......." Again, he points out that "Iqbal's concept of human unity was not theoretical but practical and real". While comparing him to Aurobindo, he calls him "a prophet of human unity". Rejecting the old static view of the universe, Iqbal advocated a dynamic view (taught by the Quran), which, very aptly remarks Prof. Azad, "forms the basis of the emotional system of unification which ultimately recognises the worth of individual as such, and rejects blood relationship as a basis of human unity". While emphasizing human unity Iqbal says in *Javid-Namah*, "A man of love follows the path of God, and is

compassionate both to the infidels and the faithfuls". "Iqbal's philosophy of human unity", says the author, "takes its source from his conception of individuality and uniqueness of man as emphasized by the Quran. According to Iqbal, the Quran has a definitive view of man's destiny as a unity of life. This concept of unity of life embraces the entire human race irrespective of caste, colour, creed and nationality". Again, "Iqbal does not visualise human unity as divorced from human consciousness which, in his words, constitutes the centre of human personality". It is this concrete human unity which Iqbal envisages as the final goal of Islam and, therefore, of his own thought.

Chapter VII is followed by four appendices. Appendex 'A' entitled "Thus Spake Iqbal", contains the philosopher's pithy observations on a variety of important subjects, which came to his mind off and on besides his regular writings. Appendex 'B' consists of Prof. Azad's three letters (including two addressed to the editor, Hindustan Times, New Delhi, and one to the editor, Illustrated Weekly of India, Bombay). Appendex 'C' includes the author's two book reviews, one on Iqbal Singh's *The Ardent Pilgrim* (Orient Longmans, Calcutta) and Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan's *Hafiz aur Iqbal;* and Appendex 'D' is author's own Introduction to Pandit Anand Narain Mulla's English version of Iqbal's "Lala-i-Tur" (cf. *Payam-i-Mashriq)*.

In Appendex 'B' letter-I, the author undertakes a brief but incisive comparison between Iqbal's *Javid-Namah* and Dante's *Divine Comedy* in point of style and content. He very acutely remarks that "in so far as the content is concerned, *Javid Nama* starts from where the *Divine Comedy* ends". But on its style the author's contention that it has

been written after the style of Dante's *Divine Comedy* is hardly appealing to one who has studied Persian mystic poetry. Even the beginning of Dante's long poem with an 'Invocation' puts one in mind of the style of Persian masters who composed long Persian poems, e.g. balads. In Letter-III, the author rejects Farhat Ullah Khan's contention that Iqbal "does not seem to have deviated from the Quraanic conception of Satan". He refers to the dialogue between Jibreel and Iblees to show that "Iqbal's conception of Satan is not entirely based on the Holy Book". He then quotes from Milton to show that he has been influenced by the Western masters. Now, such a position is based on ignorance of the long Sufic history in Islam. In his concept of Satan he has his predecessors in Mansur al-Hallaj (d. 922 A.D.) and Rumi (b. 1207 A.D.) who exerted deep impact on him. As regards his view being un-Islamic, it may not go well with the orthodox interpretation of the Quran held by the literalists and fundamentalists. Again, Iqbal never conceived of the principle of Evil as a part of the Godhead, though he conceived of evil as a necessary element in the universe, i.e. as a principle of strife and struggle, which is an indispensable condition of action and freedom of choice. Iqbal in this connection quotes the Quranic verse : 'And We test you by evil and by good by way of trial'. It bears out the views of al-Hallaj, Rumi and Iqbal himself on the necessity of evil. In Appendex 'D' containing the author's Introduction to Pandit Anand Narain Mulla's English rendering of Iqbal's long poem "Lala-i-Tur", the author, after examining the various English renderings of the same poem, brings out the inherent difficulties which a translator faces while rendering a piece of literature, still more when it is a high-class poetry as that of Iqbal, from one language into another. He also refers to the inherent dangers

in the task.

In writing these articles which cover all the major aspects of Iqbal's art and thought, Prof. Azad has rendered an invaluable service in the field of IQBALIAT. I hope this volume will go a long way to help research workers in the field in India and Pakistan as well as abroad. The author's treatment is of an impartial and disinterested nature which is generally found lacking in scholars both inland and outland, and for this he surely deserves credit. As a study of this volume will reveal, his approach is truly candid and faithful, and even free of any religious bias. The volume is entitled "IQBAL : MIND AND ART" after the author's own proposal, and it is indubitably the most apposite and comprehensive title in view of the range and variety of the subjects discussed in it. I am once again grateful to Prof. Jagan Nath Azad for vesting so much faith in me, only a student of Iqbal, by permitting me to handle his learned articles.

Dr. Mohammed Maruf,

20th of January, 1981.

* * * * *

WHEN WAS IQBAL BORN ?

As February 22, 1973 drew closer, preparatins by some literary organisations in India to celebrate Dr. Mohammad Iqbal's 100th birth anniversary on this date sparked off a controversy in the Urdu and Persian circles of the country. The question was whether February 22, 1873, was actually Iqbal's date of birth as has been mentioned by some of his biographers.

Not only that two important organizations in the country, namely Ghalib Academy, New Delhi, and Iqbal Academy, Hyderabad, did celebrate Iqbal's birth centenary in 1973 – the former exactly on February 22, 1973, and the later in May the same year.

Of course, a number of Iqbal's biographers, including Abdul Majid Salik (Pakistan), Syyed Abid Ali (Pakistan), Abdullah Anwar Beg (Pakistan) and G. A. Gafurov (U.S.S.R.), have given his date of birth as February 22, 1873. And the same date is mentioned in the *Kathas* displayed by the Archaeological Department, Government of Pakistan, at Iqbal's residences at Sialkot and Lahore. But. is the date correct ?

In this connection, All India Radio, New Delhi, circulated a letter on January 5, 1973, to some of the Urdu writers in India, which read :

> All India Radio would be putting out programmes in connection with the birth centenary of Iqbal. There

seems to be some controversy about the date, even the year of birth. According to Ram Babu Saxena, the year is 1875. V. G. Kiernan has mentioned 1873 as the year of birth and this Najibullah also accepts to be correct (in *Islamic Literature). Sir Percival Spear, on* the other hand, has mentioned 1876 as the year of birth. There seems to be yet another confusing factor. Perhaps, 1876 is the year mentioned in Iqbal's passport. It is learnt on good authority that 22nd February, 1873, is mentioned in Register of Births (Sialkot Municipal records). There is one more entry in the records. A baby boy was born in 1877 also. Perhaps, this has given rise to the controversy. Malik Ram had a talk about this with Ejaz Ahmad (Iqbal's nephew), who said that Iqbal's younger brother, who was born in 1877, had died in infancy. According to Malik Ram, Ejaz accepts 22nd February, 1873, as correct date of birth..........

All India Radio's anxiety to know the correct date of Allama Iqbal's birth is understandable as the subject of controversy concerns a very important issue in the history of Urdu literature.

ALIGARH UNIVERSITY'S APPROACH

The Urdu Department of the Aligarh Muslim University, however, acted rather cautiously in this regard. While issuing invitation letters for the Iqbal Seminar, originally proposed to be held on February 22–25, 1973, and later postponed to March 25, 1973, Prof. Al-i-Ahmed Suroor, the then Head of the Urdu Department, took care not to state that the seminar was being held on the occasion of the 100th birth anniversary of Dr. Iqbal. According to the invitation issued by the University, it was one of the seminars organised by the Urdu Department of the University occasionally on various literary

subjects. Perhaps, shifting of the date from February 22 to a later one was also with a view to confirming indirectly that the Urdu Department of the Aligarh Muslim University did not accept February 22, 1873, as Iqbal's date of birth and preferred to dissociate itself from this date.

Let us now examine the issue.

In 1908, Iqbal, while a post-graduate student in Germany, wrote his thesis "Development of Metaphysics in Persia" on which the University of Munich conferred upon him the degree of Ph. D. In the autobiographical data entitled LEBEN SALUF he writes :

> I was born on the 3rd of Zhu Qa'd, 1294 A.H. (1876 A.D.) at Sialkot – Punjab (India). My education began with the study of Arabic and Persian......

Again in 1931, when he applied for the international passport, he mentioned his year of birth as 1876.

INQILAB'S VERSION

Immediately after Iqbal's death in April 1938, daily "Inqilab", Lahore (Editor, Abdul Majid Salik) carried in one of its issues a detailed account of Iqbal's life. In this account Iqbal's date of birth was stated as December 1876 "on the authority of Iqbal's elder brother, Sheikh Ata Mohammad". But unfortunately it was again "Inqilab" itself which created a confusion when its issue dated May 7, 1938, said :

> In a recent issue of the "Inqilab", Allama Iqbal's date of birth was given as December 1876, on the authority of Iqbal's elder brother, Sheikh Ata Mohammad, but now research has finally proved that Allama Iqbal was born on February 22, 1873.

BOY WHO DIED IN INFANCY

The note, however, does not disclose the source of this "research". But it appears that Inqilab's note is based on the records in the Sialkot Municipal Committee Register, according to which a son was born to one Sheikh Nathoo in 1873. But the record neither indicates that this Sheikh Nathoo is Sheikh Noor Mohammad alias Sheikh Nathoo, Iqbal's father, nor does it show that the son was Iqbal. According to Syyed Faqir Waheed-ud-Din, the entry in the Municipal Register is of another son born to Sheikh Nathoo before Iqbal's birth. Dilating on the subject, Faqir Waheed-ud-Din writes that "the fact that a son was born to Sheikh Nathoo three or four years before Iqbal's birth has been verified by Iqbal's nephew, Ejaz Ahmed. This boy died in infancy". Faqir Waheed-ud-Din further says that according to Allama Iqbal's sister, this fact was verified from Iqbal's mother (*Roozgar-i-Faqir*, Vol. I, Edition II, Lahore, 1963–page 231). Faqir Waheed-ud-Din, who is on firm grounds in dismissing the Sialkot Municipal Committee record as unauthentic, unfortunately commits a blunder by accepting the Municipal Committee record as birth entry of Iqbal's elder brother who died in infancy. The factual position is that the Municipal Committee record relates to neither of the two as Iqbal's father never resided in Mohalla Kashmirian. He lived in Mohalla Churigaran, also known as 'Do darwaza'. Obviously, this Sheikh Nathoo is some one else and not Sheikh Noor Mohammad alias Sheikh Nathoo, father of Iqbal and his brother who died in infancy. The next part of the statement, however, that it was Iqbal's elder brother born in 1873 who died in infancy, is correct and clarifies the issue raised in the letter circulated by All India Radio.

What had led to the confusion is that the entry in the Sialkot Municipal Committee Register has, without any verification, been accepted as that of Iqbal's date of birth and then on the basis of this unauthenticated presumption Iqbal's own written statements in 1908 and 1931 have been ignored for reasons best known to some of Iqbal's biographers.

AS FAR BACK AS 1965

It would not be out of place to mention here that the Weekly 'Hamari Zaban' (Aligarh), the official organ of the Anjuman-i-Tarraqi-i-Urdu (Hind), carried in one of its issues in 1965 a letter from the present writer refuting Iqbal's date of birth as given by G. A. Gafurov. According to a note published by the "Hamari Zaban" in its issue dated February 1, 1965, G. A. Gafurov, in his Russian book on Iqbal, had given Iqbal's year of birth as 1873 and that of death 1939. The present writer challenged both as incorrect in his letter and stated that "Iqbal's date of birth is November 9, 1977, and date of death is April 21, 1938".

MURRAY COLLEGE SIALKOT

Those of Iqbal's biographers who are inclined to accept February 22, 1873, as Iqbal's date of birth, perhaps, rely for their information on the following entry in the Admission Register of the Muray College, Sialkot, which was made by the Principal of the College after Iqbal's death :

> He (Dr. Mohammad Iqbal) was born on 22nd February, 1873, at Sialkot, a well-known town on that border of the Punjab which adjoins Jammu.
>
> This is the correct date as announced in the Daily

> "Inqilab", Lahore, 7th May, 1938, on the authority of the brother of the deceased. In some other paper 1876 had been given as the year of his birth but the "Inqilab" was asked to publish the dates found in the records of the family.

The biographers, however, ignore an important point that this note is based on the report carried by "Inqilab" in its issue dated May 7, 1938, which itself is not authentic and has been refuted above. Again, the Principal is not correct in saying that according to "Inqilab", Febrary 22, 1873, is the date is verified from Allama Iqbal's brother. Quite contrary to this, what Inqilab's report says in that December 1876, stated to be Iqbal's date of birth by his elder brother Sheikh Ata Mohammad, is not correct, and "research has finally proved that Allama Iqbal was born on February 22, 1873".

As for 'family record' referred to in the Principal's note above, Sheikh Ejaz Ahmad is again on record to have said that their family never possessed any such record to give Allama's date of birth on February 22, 1873.

The following letter dated April 20, 1963, from the Muray College, Sialkot (Pakistan), published in *'Roozgar-i-Faqir"* (Vol. II – Lahore, November 1964–page 123), however, clearly indicates that "no definite date of birth is given in the College register". : –

> The entries of Dr. Mohammad Iqbal (renowned poet and philosopher) as recorded in the College Admission Register are that he joined this College on 5th May, 1893, and that his age given is 18 years. (No definite dates of birth are given in the Register).

CORRECTION MADE

Munshi Mohammad-ud-Din Fauq, in his book *"Mashaheer-i-Kashmir* (August 1930) gave Iqbal's year of birth as 1875. Two years later, in an article carried by the Iqbal Number of "Nairang-i-Khayal", Lahore, he corrected his earliar statement by saying that Iqbal's year of birth was 1876 and not 1875 as wrongly written in his book entitled *"Mashaheer-i-Kashmir"*. Mohammad-ud-Din Fauq was a close friend of Allama Iqbal and it is quite plausible that the correction was made at the instance of Iqbal himself.

IQBAL ON HIS DATE OF BIRTH

Those watching the controversy over Iqbal's date of birth would be eager to know Iqbal's own views on the issue, although it had not developed into a controversy during the poet's life-time. In this connection, a brief note by "Meem Sheen" (Mohammed Shafi), a close associate of Iqbal, carried by "Nawa-i-Waqt", Lahore, in its issue dated January 23, 1974, says :

> It was seldom that Allama Iqbal talked about his own personality. Once when the question of his date of birth came up for discussion in his presence he observed : "In so far as I am concerned, the issues such as when I was born, where I was educated and where I resided are of little significance. More important than these are my thoughts and if some scholar makes a research on the growth and development of my thoughts, he would come across startling revelations".

Earlier, in 1939, Abdullah Anwar Beg, quoting Iqbal, wrote in his book *"The Poet of the East"*.

"While writing on the events of my life it would be of little use to mention as to when and where I graduated. The

study of mental conflict that I had to pass through and the consequent growth of thought is more important."

3RD OF *DHU* QA'd 1294 A. H.

Allama Iqbal's nephew, Sheikh Ejaz Ahmad, to whom All India Radio's circular letter makes a reference, is on record having said that according to his aunt, Iqbal's elder sister, Iqbal was born on "Friday at 4 a.m." Now, it is the 3rd of *Dhu* Qa'd 1294 A.H. corresponding to November 9, 1877, and not February 22, 1873 A.D., which falls on Friday. It is interesting to note that between 1872 A.D. and 1877 A. D. February 22, does not fall on Friday, and between 1289 A.H. and 1294 A.H. it is only the 3rd of *Dhu* Qa'd 1294 that falls on Friday.

HIJRI CALENDAR AND CHRISTIAN CALENDAR

However, Usman Naliyawala, while agreeing that 3rd of Dhu Qa'd is the date of Iqbal's birth disputes its conversion into the Christian era and academically argues that on 3rd of Dhu Qa'd 1294 A.H. the day was Tuesday while on November 9, 1877, the day was Thursday, emphasising the point that 100 Hijri years are equal to 97 years and four days of the solar calendar and, "accordingly, the correct date of birth is Tuesday, November 14, 1877, and not November 9". He has however, been corrected by A. S. Mufti, according to whom "the lunar-solar conjunction in November 1877 occurred at about noon on November 5, 1877. Depending upon the locality, the new moon could have been sighted on the evening of November 6 (or November 7 at the latest). Assuming the former case, the first day of Islamic month

Dhu Qa'd would be November 7, 1877".

"According to the Hindu lunar-solar system, the tithi on November 14 was 9th in the seventh month which would correspond to 8th Dhu Qa'd and not 3rd".

Dilating on the question of converting Hijri year into Christian year, Shamsul Haq Ansari says :

> According to Three Hundred year Calendar (1753-2052) in Lange's Handbook of Chemistry, November 9, 1877, fell on Friday and November 14, 1877, on Wednesday.
>
> In the solar or Gregorian Calendar, introduced by Pope Gregory XIII with days and months arranged as now, there are 1,461 days in every four years including one leap year, with a regular sequence of days. In the lunar calendar, there are 1,417 days in four years although the sequence of days does not correspond with the pattern as in solar calendar.
>
> From the record available with me, there occurred 3,543 days in last 10 Hijri years from 1384 to 1393 (1964–1973). Thus 100 Hijri or lunar years would contain 35,430 days which would be equal to 97 Gregorian or solar years comprising 25 leap years of 366 days each and 72 years of 365 days each.

Mr. Sardar Ali Sabri of Karachi, who possesses a complete set of Urdu, Hindi and English calendars, Panchangs and almanacs from 1854 to 1980, says that according to these records November 9, 1877, was Friday corresponding to 3rd Dhu Qa'd 1294 A.H.

ROYAL ACADEMY JOURNAL

Malk Raj Anand's article on Iqbal's poetry carried by the Royal Academy Journal, London, during Iqbal's lifetime,

gives Iqbal's year of birth as 1877.

In July 1938, three months after the death of Iqbal, his elder brother Sheikh Ata Mohammad, wrote a letter to his son Sheikh Ejaz Ahmad, wherein he says that Iqbal's first wife was older to him (Iqbal) by three years. In 1938, her age was a little over 65. According to this calculation, Iqbal died at the age of 62 or 63 and this supports the date of birth given by Iqbal himself–3rd of Dhu Qa'd 1294 A.H. Sheikh Ejaz Ahmad says that his father Sheikh Ata Mohammad told him during his illness that although his brother Iqbal was younger to him by 18 years, he had died earlier. Since Sheikh Ata Mohammad's year of birth as recorded in his service book is 1859, Iqbal should have been born in 1877. When Iqbal Day was celebrated in January 1938 by the Muslim Students' Brotherhood at Lahore and by Anjuman-i-Tarraqi-i-Urdu at Rawalpindi, Iqbal's age was announced to be 61 which again confirms 1877 as the year of his birth.

The Encyclopaedia Britannica (Vol. 12) published in 1968, too, accepts November 9, 1877, as Iqbal's year of birth. Iqbal's son Aftab Iqbal says that in 1898 when he was born, his father was 21 years old. This confirms 1877 as Iqbal's date of birth.

PUNJAB UNIVERSITY CALENDAR

Dr. Waheed Qureshi, at present Head of the Persian Department, Oriental College, Lahore, has provided yet another point supporting the theory that 1877 A.D. and not 1873 A.D. can be the year of Iqbal's birth. He says that originally according to the Punjab University procedure, every student, while appearing for B.A. examination, had to give his age in the Examination form. Iqbal, who had his graduation in 1897 A.D., mentioned his age as 19 years in

the admission form. This again shows that 1877 is more correct than 1873 for his year of birth.

YET ANOTHER CONFUSION

Strangely enough, on the tablet at Iqbal's grave in Lahore, his date of birth is given as 1292 A.H. which neither occurs anywhere in Iqbal's own writings nor is according to the Sialkot Municipal Committee Register wrongly taken as authentic by some. This tablet prepared in Kabul, was presented to the Iqbal Mazar Committee by the Government of Afghanistan. The present writer noticed this error only in 1962 during his visit to Pakistan. He, therefore, contacted the Secretary of the Iqbal Mazar Committee, Khwaja Abd-u-Rahim,a personal friend of his, to enquire about the authenticity of this date. Unfortunately, Khwaja Abd-u-Rahim could not throw any light on it as he did not remember whether any date was communicated by the Mazar Committee to the Government of Afghanistan, and the record of the Mazar Committee was also silent about it. In 1965, during another visit to Pakistan by the present writer Syyed Faqir Waheed-ud-Din, author of *"Roozgar-i-Faqir"*, who has also done research work on Iqbal's date of birth, corroborated that the record of Allama Iqbal's Mazar Committee did not give any indication of Iqbal's date of birth and there was no reason why 1292 A.H. should at all be considered.

ZIKR-I-IQBAL

Some of the present-day writers on Iqbal who are sticking adamently to February 22, 1873, as Iqbal's date of birth, are relying too much on Abdul Majid Salik's book *"Zikr-i-Iqbal"* published by Bazm-i-Iqbal, Lahore. Abdul Majid Salik was undoubtedly a prominent Urdu literatteur of the

sub-continent. But his lack of effort to work on Iqbal's bio-data in his book *"Zikr-i-Iqbal"* has made it possible for him to slip into pitfalls that he might otherwise have avoided. Unfortunately, the dates and the places mentioned in this book are in many cases incorrect. To quote only a few : the book mentions Srinagar as the place to which Iqbal's ancestors belonged. This is in contradiction to Iqbal's categorical statement in one of his letters written in 1920 to his elder brother, Sheikh Ata Mohammad, saying that "our family belonged to Chaku (Adwan) and not to Lochar or Lojar" as wrongly stated by Mohammad-ud-Din Fauq".

The date of migration of Iqbal's ancestors from Kashmir to Sialkot is also not correctly given in "Zikr-i-Iqbal" which says that the Family left for Sialkot after the 1857 Battle of Independence was over ignoring the fact that in 1857 Iqbal's father, Sheikh Noor Mohammed, who was born in Sialkot, was a grown-up man.

The caption of a photograph of a room in "Zikr-i-Iqbal" refers to it as "the room where Iqbal was born"/but this first-floor room did not exist at the time of Iqbal's birth. In 1912 the entire single-storey structure was razed to the ground and a new double-storey building constructed on the same site.

According to "Zikr-i-Iqbal", which is no doubt written in a mature literary style, Iqbal recited his poem "Nala-i-Yateem" at the annual session of Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam, Lahore, in 1899', while all authentic available records including the records of Anjuman itself agree that the poem was recited on February 25, at the annual session of the Anjuman held on February 23, 24 and 25, 1900.

To cap it all, the book says that at the annual session of Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam in 1901 Iqbal recited a poem entitled "Yateem ka Khitab Hilal-i-Id Se", and that "the last couplet of the poem is :

"Payam-i-aish-o-musarrat hamen sunata hai
Hilal-i-Id hamari hasi urata hai"

Amazing! This couplet occurs in another poem entitled "Id Par Sher Likhne Ki Farmaish Ke Jawab Main", which is included in "Bang-i-Dara" in the section entitled "From 1918 onwards". And again the couplet is in a meter entirely different from the meter of the poem which begins with this couplet :

Ai mah-i-Id be hijab hai tu
Husn-i-khursheed ka jawab hai tu

A number of similar inaccuracies have rendered the book unauthentic for those dispassionately interested in Iqbal's bio-data. Let us not forget that it was Abdul Majid Salik's daily "Inqilab" which originally created confusion through a write-up in its issue dated May 7, 1938, on Iqbal's date of birth, a point already dealt with.

WRITERS IN PAKISTAN

The issue is of equal importance to writers in Pakistan but not a word about the so-called centenary on February 22, 1973, was ever heard from Radio Pakistan. The Pakistan Press was also silent about it throughout 1973. This obviously shows that the literary circles of that country which include a large number of Iqbal's associates, namely Syyed Nazir Niazi, Dr. Mumtaz Hasan, Bashir Ahmad Dar, Hafeez Jullundri, Mian Mohammad Shafi, Prof. Yusuf Saleem

Chishti, Dr. Syyed Abdullah, Sufi Ghulam Mustafa Tabassum, Ilm-ud-Din Salik, Aqa Bedar Bakht, Abd-us-Sattar Niazi, Shorish Kashmiri, Abdullah Malik, Faiz Ahmad Faiz, Khwaja Abdul Hamid Irfani, Malik Aslam Hayat, Khwaja Abd-ur-Rahim (Secretary, Mazar-i-Iqbal Committee) and Dr. Ashiq Hussain Batalvi (presently in London) have rejected February 22, 1873, as Iqbal's date of birth, so much so that they have not even considered it necessary to start a controversy over the date which Dr. Iqbal himself gave as 3rd of Dhu Qa'd 1294 A.H. (1876 A.D.) in his Ph. D. thesis.

INDIA AND PAKISTAN

All India Radio deserves all credit for issuing a circular letter on January 5, 1973, on the subject of Iqbal's date of birth. And one cannot take up cudgels with All India Radio for celebrating Iqbal's birth centenary in 1973, particularly when writers like V. G. Kiernan, Abdul Majid Salik, Najibullah, G. A. Gafurov and Syyed Abid Ali are for 1873. Celebration of Iqbal's birth centenary is a work of purely literary nature, but unfortunately a section of the Pakistani Press made it a political issue and tried to make capital out of it by attacking Indian intelligentia including the Prime Minister. A letter published by the "Pakistan Times", Rawalpindi, in its issue dated February 2, 1974, said : "Let the Indian Prime Minister try to deceive herself and the world by misusing, Allama Iqbal's name in her efforts to attract Muslim votes in the coming U.P. elections. I request all true Pakistanis to refrain from playing the game of the enemies of Allama Iqbal's ideology". What a pity! Another letter carried by the same paper in an earlier issue, dated January 25, 1974, says :

'An argument in support of 1873 being the Allama's year of birth is that the Indian Government has also accepted this and a committee has been formed under Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's chairmanship to make arrangements for celebrations to capture Muslim votes in the crucial Assembly elections in the U.P., which is the mainstay of Mrs. India Gandhi's leadership. The Indians have not undertaken any research on this issue.'

What an unfortunate approach and what a colossal ignorance of factual position! It was on March 25, 1973, on the basis of the work done by the present writer determining November 9, 1877, as Iqbal's date of birth ('Hindustan Times', February 18, 1973), that Sardar Jafri moved a resolution at the Iqbal Seminar, Aligarh to celebrate 1977 as Iqbal's birth centenary year on all India basis. The resolution was supported by Prof. Al-i-Ahmed Suroor and consequently an All India Iqbal Birth Centenary Celebrations Committee was formed at Delhi with Durga Prasad Dhar as its chairman and Inder Kumar Gujral as Vice-Chairman. This Committee decided in its meeting on December 29, 1973, at Delhi that Iqbal's centenary would be celebrated in 1977, while the committee of experts formed in Pakistan to determine Iqbal's date of birth announced the same decision on February 3, 1974. In view of this, it tantamounts to nothing but distortion of facts on the part of a section of Pakistan Press to say that "Indians have not undertaken any research on this issue".

LAHORE NOTEBOOK

However, the same paper was more objective and academic in approach when its columnist, Mohammad Idris, wrote under the title Lahore Note-book in the paper's

Rawalpindi issue dated January 22, 1974 :

'By the way, what happened to the committee that was supposed to determine the birthday of Iqbal? One learns that the committee has found no clue so far. This speaks for the dedication of those who profess to have a major stake in much-trumpeted research on Iqbal.

'Is it not something of a symbol of our cultural hypocrisy that we are now starting to talk of Iqbal's centenary year because some one across the border has chosen to do so ? Why can't we do to Iqbal what we must do to him if we are honest about him? Let us be natural about Iqbal. Let us talk and act Iqbal–and let's not try to find excuses for talking about him and his teachings. The centenary idea is only an excuse. Let us be more honest about Iqbal. Let us first show ourselves that Iqbal belongs to us. The rest of the world can come later. Let's begin by correcting the crass stupidity of our media and how they have failed to bring Iqbal to the people–and let us also take a sideways glance at the medal hunting associations and organisations that want to grind a cultural axe by suddenly waxing eloquent about Iqbal. Let there be finally a measure of consistency in what we profess about Iqbal and the shabby treatment we give him on occasions other than the purely ceremonial ones. Iqbal should not be a ceremony for us; he should be a way of life. And down with seasonal quails.'

JAVED IQBAL'S VIEW

All India Radio's reference to Sheikh Ejaz Ahmad is no doubt very pertinent as the letter makes a mention of a talk between Mr. Malik Ram and Sheikh Ejaz Ahmad. But according to Mr. Malik Ram himself, he had met Sheikh Ejaz

Ahmad in Karachi in 1952 when the controversy over Iqbal's date of birth had not started. It was only in 60s that the issue became live and, according to "Roozgar-i-Faqir (Vol. I, Lahore, 1963) both Sheikh Ejaz Ahmad and Iqbal's son, Javed Iqbal, accepted November 9, 1877, as the correct date of birth.

1876 OR 1877

It may be mentioned again that 3rd of Dhu Qa'd 1294 A.H. according to the Christian Calendar is November 9, 1877 and not 1876. It appears that Iqbal remembered the Hijri year of his birth correctly but, while converting it into Christian year, he made an error and gave it as 1876. Thus, the date should be November 9, 1877 A.D. It may also be noted that the "Civil and Military Gazette", Lahore, represented by Mohammed Shafi (one of Iqbal's close associates) for local reports, in its obituary on Iqbal in 1938, gave his date of birth as November 9, 1877. And this is the correct date.

* * * * *

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INDIAN BACK-GROUND OF IQBAL'S POETRY

Iqbal suffered most at the hands of his commentators, who have been presenting him as a revivalist or a politician unmindful of the rich heritage of Indian culture and civilization. What has happened in this regard is that some of the literary critics have divided Iqbal's all embracing personality in a number of water-tight compartments with the result that the luster of his individuality, which could have served as a beacon of light for the coming generations, remains to a great extent befogged till today. If Iqbal had not been viewed through the narrow vision of some of his critics, his message of universal brotherhood would have shone forth with greater brilliance serving as a gospel to remove social and cultural barriers, and fostering cultural integration among people divided by heterogeneous social, cultural and religious patterns of life.

Like Aurobindoo and Abul Kalam Azad,[1] Iqbal's vision comprises a thousand phases of mundane as well as spiritual and philosophical thought, but the narrow-focussed eyes of some are capable of seeing only a very limited portion of the whole being. Even that limited portion is, unluckily, viewed imperfectly, and from an angle of bias. If students of Urdu and Persian had made an objective study of Iqbal, it would have resulted in a healthy impact on the social and cultural life of India. The root-cause of misunderstanding regarding Iqbal's patriotism lies in the fact that we have been measuring his patriotism with the yard-stick of nationalism of our own concepts. The writings of some scholars of Urdu and Persian have described Iqbal as an advocate of a rather reactionary

ideology and a political philosophy. And on account of this, in certain literary and political circles, Iqbal is still considered to be an exponent of ideals which are alien to patriotic sentiments.

But first-hand knowledge of his poetry sheds an immense light on his Indian background which he intensely loved. Iqbal's place as an exponent of the Indian civilization is unique among the Urdu and Persian writers and scholars of India, and when he inspires his remarks with poetic talent and pleasant expressions, he leaves an indelible mark on the reader.

Iqbal does not ask you to go back. His aim is to prepare you for the onward march. He is in love with our grand heritage, with religious traditions, with the philosophy of the Vedas and Upanishads, with the wisdom of Rishis, Munis, Darveshs and Faqirs. To sum up nis life-long work would be impossible in such a small space. But references to some of his writings would go a long way to establish the truth of this assertion.

Ever since 1857 when the element of patriotic feelings was first introduced in Urdu poetry, hardly any other Urdu or Persian Poet in India has excelled Iqbal in the espousal of, what is called, the ancient Indian culture, and held this culture so high in esteem and derived inspiration from it as did Iqbal.

For some people, however, the 'Indian culture'[2] consists of merely a few empty slogans or it means going back from what we have achieved through our cultural advancement and rational thought towards a state of society which could be called mediaeval. Others want to replace the resplen-

dent beauty created by the diversity of cultural patterns in India with the 'Universality' of one dominant culture. People with such ideologies, I am afraid, would not find any patriotic sentiments in Iqbal's writings.

But if Indian culture means a fusion of what we have inherited in the form of great political, historical and religious traditions; a distillation of the philosophy of the Vedas and Upanishads, and the ancient way of life transmitted by generations of Rishis, Faqirs and ascetics to the modern man in India; they would find Iqbal an ardent lover of all that is 'Indian'.

It does not need any extensive or intensive research, or arduous study of Iqbal's writings to have a glimpse of his patriotism and the background of Indian culture in his writings.[3]

The very first poem 'Himala' (The Himalayas)[4] in his collection of verses called "Bang-i-Dara" bears ample testimony to his patriotic zeal. Although this poem provides an interesting specimen of poetic imagery, in reality it is indicative of a longing/on the part of the poet/to know directly from the Himalayas the story of the evolution of the Indian civilization in the lap of the mountain valleys, and of the early struggle of man to know himself. It is also indicative of his craving to associate himself with the early ancient Indian culture/which was nurtured in the valleys of the Himalayas and remained aglow as a beacon of light of the world for centuries. He wants the passage of the time to take a reverse course to enable him to see with his own eyes the grandeur that was India.

'Daur peechhe ki taraf ai gardish-i-ayyam tu'

[Just have a race back-ward, O the movement of the time.]

He wrote this poem in 1901, the year which almost heralds the beginning of Iqbal's poetry.

"Bång-i-Dra" carries only 9 couplets of "Sada-i-Dard" (The Voice of Grief), another poem by Iqbal which originally consisted of 25 couplets. Here are 14 out of the remaining 17 couplets with their free translation :–[5]

Par le chal mujh ko phir ai kashti-e-mauj-e-atak
Ab naheen bhati yahan ke bestanon ki mahak
Han salam ai maulad-e-Buzasaf-e-Gautam tujhe
Ab faza teri nazar ati hai namahram muj he
Alwida ai sairgah-e-shaikh-i-shiraz alwida
Ai dayar-e-Balmik-e-nukta parwar alwida
Alwida ai madfan-i-Hijwairi-e-ejaz dam
Rukhast ai aramgah-i-shankar-e-ejaz dam
Alwida ai sarzemin-e-Nanak-e-shirin zaban
Rukhast ai aramgah-e-Chishti-e-Eesee nishan

[O the boat on the waves of the river Attock, take me again to the shore,
The fragrance of the gardens in this country is no more charming for me.
Goodbye O' the land of the birth of Gautama the Buddha;
I feel alien in your climate.
Goodbye! Rendezvous of the Sheikh of Shiraz
Fare-well O land of Balmik (the author of Ramayana).
Goodbye! O land where Hijwairi with life-giving breaths lies burried;
Good-bye! O land where Shankar, the wizard-writer of ancient times, lies in eternal rest.
Adeau! Thou land of Nanak, the poet saint with a candid tongue;

Good-bye! Thou resting abode of Chishti who reminds us of Christ.]

Explaining the reasons, why he feels like saying good-bye to the land of his birth, Iqbal says :

Ramz-i-ulfat se mire ehl-e-watan ghafil hue
Karzar-e-arsa-e-hasti ki naqabil hue
Apni aslyyat se nawaqif hain kia insan hain
Ghair apnon ko samajhte hain ajab nadan hain
Jis ka ik muddat se dharka tha woh din aane ko hai
Safha-e-hasti se apna nam mit jane ko hai
Dil hazeen hai jan rehne-ranj-i-be andaza hai
Ah ik daftar hai apna woh bhi be sheeraza hai
Imtiaz-e-qaum-o-millat par mite jate hain yeh
Aur is uljhi hui guththi ko uljhate hain yeh
Ham ne yeh mana ki mazhab jan hai insan ki
Kuchh isi ke dam se qaim shan hai insan ki
Rooh ka joban nikharta hai isi tadbir se
Aadami sone ka ban jata hai is iksir se
Rang-i-qaumyyat magar is se badal sakta naheen
Khun-i-Abai rag-e-tan se nikal sakta naheen

[My countrymen have discarded the tradition of love,
And have become incapable of struggling in the
battle-field of life.
They are not aware of even their own reality;
They treat their own kith and kin as aliens.
The unlucky day is soon likely to dawn,
When we will be effaced from the surface of the earth.
My heart is heavy, and my grief is deep and fathomless,
Alas! We have a single set-up and that too is in a
disorderly manner.
They (my countrymen) fight over distinctions of
caste and community.
And are engaged in making the problems more knotty.
We concede that religion is the very quintessence of
humanity,

And it sustains the dignity of man;
· It purifies the soul,
And serves as an Alchemy to ennoble human being.
Religion, however, cannot change the hue of nationality,
And it can't, in any way, effect the blood of our
ancestors (pulsating in our veins).]

The next significant poem in this regard is "Aftab"– an Urdu version by Iqbal of Gayatri Mantra. This poem was published in the "Makhzan" along with an Introduction in 1902. Since this Introduction is also not found in "Bang-i-dara" now, it is reproduced below : –

AFTAB

(1902)

INTRODUCTION

This is a translation of a prayer in verse from the Rigveda, called Gayatri. This prayer emerges from the feelings which flooded the mind of Man, while he stood face to face with the phenomena of Divine manifestations in all their glory. The study of such ancient writings (as Gayatri) is necessary for a student interested in the study of the growth and development of humanity as it gives a clue to the earlier stages of the spiritual evolution of Man. This prayer is commonly shared by all the four Vedas and the learned Pandits attach so much sanctity to it that they would not recite it without the usual set of rituals associated with its recitation. People, who have read the works of researchers in Oriental languages, also know what a hard labour Sir William Jones had to undergo in getting this prayer properly interpreted. This ode to Divinity, so to say, has been translated in many languages of the

world but the fact remains that, on account of the grammatical intricacies of the Sanskrit language, it is extremely difficult to express it precisely in the modern languages. It is also necessary to mention here that in the Sanskrit version the word used (for this prayer) is 'Savitur' and for want of a better word in Urdu, which could adequately express the implications of the prayer in Urdu, we have used the word 'Aftaab' (Sun). In reality his reference is directed to the Sun which transcends human perception, and which is the source of light and warmth to the Sun visible to the human eye.

Ancient people and Sufis of the by-gone ages have in their writings referred to God as Light (which controls and guides the destiny of the Universe). "God is the Light of the Skies and the Earth", says the Holy Qur'aan. Sheik Mohyudin-Ibn-i-Arabi says : "God is the Light which illuminates other things but itself remains invisible". The followers of the prophets of ancient Iran (before the advent of Islam) followed the same religious principle.

The difficulties of translation from one language into another are well-know to the scholars. In this particular case the difficulty is all the more real as the music of words in its composition and its inner quality, which bears an invigorating, uplifting, elevating and purifying effect on human mind and soul,cannot be translated into Urdu words. The poet-scholar who composed Gayatri, like the great poet Tennyson, used a language in his composition which is full of subtle music. It is very difficult to transmit musical quality from the Sanskrit language into renderings of translation in other languages. On account of this difficulty I have based my translation on the text which has been used as elucidation of the Gayatri Mantra in the

Surya Narain Upanishad. Although I have translated it, I am afraid, the Sanskrit scholars would, perhaps, not find the "soul" of Gayatri therein even though they appreciate my renderings in Urdu verse.

One of the hemistichs in this poem is :

Zaidgan-i-Noor ka hai tajdar too

[Thou art the king of those who are born of Light].

Explaining the terms "Zaidgan-i-nur" Iqbal says : –

"Zaidgan-i-Nur"–those who are born of Light–means Devtas or gods. The Sanskrit Devta is one who is born of Light! This shows that ancient Hindus conceived of Devtas as creations of God and not eternal beings. The word "Farishta" comes nearest to "Devta" as Farishtas are also believed to have been born of Light, and are treated as finite beings. Therefore, Hinduism cannot be accused of polytheism.

In another poem of abiding fame "Tasveer-i-Dard", Iqbal, with out-spoken caudidness, warns his country-men that if they observed distinction of caste and creed, they would face destruction, and exhorts them to discard this distinction and owe allegiance to the motherland as a united people.

In yet another poem of his, entitled "Sarguzasht-i-Aadam" (The Story of Man), he has kept 'Hindustan' in view and, Adam tells us that he sang the Divine message on the land of Hindustan.

As we thumb through the works of Iqbal, we come across a poem which raises a good deal of controversy about Iqbal's concept of nationalism. This is the well-known poem "Tarana-i-Hindi"–'Sare Jahan se achchha Hindostan Hamara.' In most cases when this peom is discussed, the "admirers"

of Iqbal come out to defend him with the plea that he composed this poem before 1908, when he followed "a wrong political ideology". They maintain that during his stay on the continent between 1905 and 1908 his outlook underwent a drastic change,/and his poetry freed itself from the "limitations of patriotic considerations" and soared higher into the broader sphere of Islamic ideology to enchant his admirers from those heights. Thereafter, he wrote verses not from the national but from the Islamic point of view, etc. etc.

The same school of critics at the same time credits him for presenting the concept of Pakistan at the initial stages as if the inconsistency of presenting "diametrically opposed national and Islamic view-points" was ironed out when he presented the concept of Pakistan !

A superficial approach to the poetry of a great poet like Iqbal is bound to lead to erroneous reasoning. In the same poem, which is considered as a "relic of nationalism". there is a couplet which speaks of the religious fervour of a Muslim.

Ai aab-i-Rud-i-Ganga, woh din hain yad tujh ko
Utra tire kanare jab karwan hamara

[O the waters of the Ganges! Do you still remember the days when our Caravan halted by your banks.]

It is difficult to say what meanings the critics would place on it!

Iqbal went to Europe in 1905. During his three years stay there he observed: firstly,/that the countries in Europe were thirsty for each others' blood in their hectic struggle

for power; and secondly, he saw that the European nations, among whom Great Britain was in the fore-front, were treating the Asian countries, especially the Muslim countries, rather shabbily. They were eagerly looking for opportunities for setting one Muslim country against the other and fomenting rivalry and conflicts among them.

European countries were tightening their hold on these countries by isolating each one of them from others and by instigating one against the other. As a result of the British diplomacy, Turkey, from where in the days gone bye, conquerers had risen to march over across the Europe, had become so weak that she was not even able to defend herself. This country, the proud conquerer of many lands in Europe, had then become "the sick-man of Europe". Turkey was, once upon a time, proud of her naval strength, but in 1911 she had become so debilitated militarily that the "Turkish Empire" had no naval ships which could be employed for transporting her troops to the War front, when Great Britain attacked Tripoli. The Mullas had given a verdict against the translation of the Holy Qur'an in other languages of the world. In the opinion of these "farsighted" defenders of the faith, teachings of the Holy Qur'an were not meant to be understood and followed.

Iran was under the influence of Russia and the Great Britain in all respects. A system of diarchy, leadership of the Mullas, and economic problems had almost destroyed the country. Afghanistan had been enticed by European countries into the adoption of Western ways of life. In addition to that the general ignorance of masses and blind following of meaningless customs had landed the country into difficult situation from which there was no way out!

Britain had consolidated her hold on Egypt and had also occupied Sudan. Under orders of Lord Kitchner, Mehdi Sudani's dead body was taken out of his grave and set fire to on the road side. Algiers and Tunis were under French domination, and Morocco was on the verge of losing her independence. The Muslims of South-East Asia were inextricably in the clutches of the Dutch colonialists.

Iqbal was deeply moved by the misery of the Muslim countries under the domination of Western Colonial powers. He arrived at the conclusion that emancipation of these nations lay in unity, and unity needed a spiritual relationship to string them together. Obviously, the spiritual relationship between these countries could not be any relationship other than that of Islam. It is this concept of Islamic brotherhood of Iqbal that some of his interpreters are harping on with a view to making out that on his return from Europe he turned his back upon patriotism and preached the "gospel of all-embracing Muslim brotherhood". They fail to see that the concept of universal Islamic brotherhood is there even in the very poem which they decry as antagonistic to Islamic university.

"Hindustani Bachchon ka Geet" (Song of the Indian Children) is a product of that very period. In this poem Guru Nanak Dev, the great Saint-Poet of India, sings the song of oneness of God, and Hazrat Khwaja Moin-ud-Din Chishti delivers the message of Truth in the land from where the gospel of oneness of God was preached to the world and from where the Holy Prophet felt an impact of cool breez. We wonder whether to describe this poem Islamic or un-Islamic.

Swami Ram Tirath was one of the noted Hindu Saints. He preached the gospel of Vedanta or Pantheism. Not the

Pantheism of Islam which conceives of the world as manifestation of God, but Pantheism as propounded by Shri Shankaracharya in ancient India, which postulates the world as an illusion (maya). Iqbal, in his poem on, "Ram Tirath", does not only sum up the Vedantic philosophy in the following verses, but he does it with an attitude of devotion to that philosophy : –

Ham baghal darya se hai ai qatra-i-betab too
Pehle gauhar the bana ab gauhar-i-nayab too
Nafy-i-hasti ik karishma hai dil-i-agah ka
'La' ke darya mein moti hai 'Illillah' ka

[O'the restless drop, now you are one with the Ocean,
Originally you were a pearl; now you are a rare pearl.
The negation of self is one of the aspects of the 'heart' that knows;
In the Ocean of Negation is hidden the pearl of "There is no god but God".]

The so-called 'nationalism', which Iqbal has deprecated, is the political dogma that gives rise to political rivalry between the nations of the world. What Iqbal decries is the political philosophy which is being employed to justify economic domination by one country over others. It injects hypocrisy and false-hood in politics, goes against the interest of the weaker, and defends the stronger. It divides the human race into water-tight compartments.

A dispassionate analysis, however, would make it crystal clear that all these draw-backs are the draw-backs of a misguided and beguiled nationalism based upon narrow interests of group, community and region–the out-come of a perverted policy–. Hypocrisy need not be an integral part of national policies and politics need not be divorced

from truth. We have before us the instance of Mohatma Gandhi and that of Jamal-ud-Din Afghani. Their political philosophies were different from the politics of the West. There can obviously be no compromise with a polity, which carries in itself the germs of the above–mentioned evils. It was this perverted form of nationalism which Iqbal deprecated in his poems. He loved India from the core of his heart. According to some of the literary critics he, in the beginning, sang in praise of India, but later on drifted to the "Universality of Islam". But, then, how is it that after he, according to them, had switched over from love of India to the love of Islamic brotherhood, he, in a poem on Lord Rama, describes the cultural and philosophical heights of India as "loftier than the skies" and her evenings as "brighter than the morning of the countries of the world"

It was, perhaps, a few years before his death that Iqbal had a discussion with Maulana Husain Ahmad Madani on "nationalism". In the course of that discussion, Iqbal observed: "We are all Hindis and are known by this name, because we live in a region of the world called "Hind"......Man loves the country of his birth by instinct and is prepared to make all possible sacrifices for his country. Love for one's country is a sentiment which is innate in the very nature of the man, and no extraneous stimulations are required for the development of this sentiment".

In 1920, India's political leaders courted arrest for the sake of their country and smilingly suffered the hardships of prison life. Iqbal supported their cause, and recited his poem "Aseeri" (Imprisonment) at a public meeting held at Amritsar to welcome Maulana Mohammad Ali Jauhar, Maulana Shaukat Ali and other political leaders.

Similarly, when British Imperialists ordered barbarous shooting on peaceful citizens at Jallianwala Bagh, Amritsar, Iqbal paid glowing tributes to the martyrs in two of his couplets. These two couplets contain deeper emotions and feelings than volumes of poems and writings could carry. These couplets which are not included in the published works of Iqbal are : –

Har zair-e-chaman se yeh kahti hai khak-i-bagh
Ghafil na reh jahan men gardoon ki chal se
Sencha gaya hai khun-i-shaheedan se is ka tukhm
Tu ansuon ka bukhl na kar is nihal se

[The soil of the garden says thus to every visitor:
'In this world do not be unmindful of the treacheries of the skies.
Its seed has been nurtured by the blood of martyrs,
You should not be stingy in paying your homage to this tree with your tears'.]

"Payam-i-Mashriq" does not merely tell us the story of Kashmir and Ghani Kashmiri; it also contains couplets on India's slavery under the British rule, which raises Iqbal's status equal to that of other great fighters for India's freedom.

Iqbal's poems forcefully plead with their readers that the point of view and ideology of their author be given the consideration it deserves. Iqbal never treated patriotism as the antithesis of the universal brotherhood of Islam,[6] but declared that the misuse of national sentiments for gaining political power goes against the spirit of Islam. This exploitation of national feelings for gaining power opens the way to many socio-political evils. Thus, a wrong concept of patriotism based on exploitation of national feelings divides

humanity into artificial regions and groups, and strikes at the very roots of the "Islamic nationhood".

According to Iqbal, the political concept of a country means to regard a country as a political end. If the concept of a country means to regard a country as a political end. If the concept of nationlism does not carry with it this evil, there is no danger of national sentiments coming in conflict with the feelings of religious (Islamic) brotherhood.

It may be mentioned here that Iqbal fully agreed with the views of Syyed Jamal-ud-Din Afghani, who was the founder of the movement called Tehreek-i-Ittihad-i-Islami (Movement for the unity of Islam). Briefly speaking, the philosophy and the line of action preached by him revolved round the principle that every Muslim country, in the first instance, be politically free. These free countries should, thereafter, be linked into a joint Muslim organisation, based upon religious brotherhood. Obviously, Jamal-ud-Din Afghani could not have been unmindful of the reality that the ideal of national sovereignty would be unattainable unless there was a concept of nationalism based on patriotic feelings. If Iqbal had been antagonistic to the mundane concept of nationhood, he would not have mentioned the name of Khushhal Khan Khattak with the same respect and courtesy, as he observed while mentioning the name of the Pathan poet in his "Bal-i-Jibreel". He has described Khushhal Khan Khattak as a famous patriotic poet of Pashto language, "who organised the Afghan tribals of the Frontier region for the liberation of that region from the domination of the Mughals".

"Khushhal Khan Khattak's Dying Exhortation to his Followers" and "The Dream of Tatari" are Iqbal's two representative poems which throw a good deal of light on the concept of nationalism Iqbal believed in.

One of the three parts of Iqbal's "Zabur-i-Ajam" is entitled "Bandgi Nama", which is apparently a satire on slavery, and the people imagined in bondage are his own countrymen. That is why all the symbols and allusions are Indian in essence, for instance 'Qutbud Din Aibak', 'Sher Shah Suri', 'Taj Mahal' etc.

Political bondage, in Iqbal's view is not only a dead weight/which kills human feelings and hangs heavy upon the soul, but is also fatal for fine arts—music, painting and architecture. While talking of the architectural works by men with creative minds, he asks his readers to have a look at, and appreciate, the architectural designs of Masjid-i-Quwwat-ul-Islam constructed by Qutbud Din Aibak in Mehrauli and the mosque constructed by Sher Shah Suri within the premises of the Humayun's tomb. The durability, grandeur and beauty of these exquisite pieces of architecture speak of the greatness of their creators. For him the very sight of these mosques is invigorating; it lends (mental) strength to the on-lookers, and transports them to an altogether different world. The great men with sublime souls have hewn gems out of stones by their creative imagination, determination and steadfastness. Continuing, Iqbal says : "Do not ask me for whom these prayer – houses have been constructed. How can the body describe the soul ? I do not know much even about my own self. What can I tell you about these mosques ? I have not even tasted water from the Euphrates of life. Maturity comes with deep and unshakeable faith. In so far as I am concerned, the twing of my positive knowledge is without moisture. I feel myself unworthy of offering prayers in these mosques. O' on-looker! Have a look at the Taj Mahal in moon-lit night.

"Javed Namah" is not only one of Iqbal's master-piece but also a master-piece in the entire Persian poetry produce

in Iran and India. The late Allama Syyed Sulaiman Nadvi observed when it was published, that before the publication of that book (Javed Namah) there were only four immortal books in Persian poetry, but with its publication a fifth immortal collection had been added to the four immortal collections already existing which according to him were– "Shahnama" by Firdausi, "Diwan-i-Hafiz" by Hafiz Sheerazi, "Mathnawi" by Maulana Rum and "Bostan" by Shaikh Saddi.

In "Javed Namah", Iqbal, who adopts for himself the name of "Zinda Rud" (Living Stream), explores various Spheres under the guidance of Rumi. This journey is almost identical with the journey that Dante, led by Virgil undertakes in his "Divine Comedy". The only difference between the two is that Iqbal starts his journey from where Dante ends it.

The first halt during this sojourn is at the Sphere of the Moon. The chapter describing this stage of the journey is entitled in "Javed Namah" as –

ARIF-I-HINDIKIBA YAKE AZ GHARHA-I-QAMAR KHALWAT GIRAFTA O EHL-I-HIND U RA "JAHAN DOST" MI GOEND.

[AN INDIAN SEER KNOWN TO THE PEOPLE OF INDIA AS "JAHAN DOST", WHO LIVES AS A HERMIT IN ONE OF THE CAVES OF THE MOON].

Now, before going into full details of this journey to the Moon, I would like to clarify a point which is generally misunderstood by most of Iqbal's critics and interpreters. "Jahan Dost" is literally translated by them as "Vishwa Mitra"; but Iqbal's own elucidation of his verses describes "Jahan Dost" as Shivji Maharaj (Lord Shiva)7 and not as Vishwamitra. Shivji Maharaj has many attributes, and his

friendship of the world is one of them; therefore he is described as "Jahan Dost" by Iqbal, who visualises him as personification of Hindu philosophy. Iqbal is not oblivious of the fact that his ancestors were Brahmins. He has made pointed references in his poetry to his being a descendant of Brahmins. And as he belonged to a family of Kashmiri Bramins, it is quite natural for him to visualise Shivji as an embodiment of Hindu philosophy and religion. However, here Iqbal, in his attempt to lay emphasis on a particular quality of Shivji i.e. his friendship with the world, has described him as "Jahan Dost"; and that should not lead us to translate "Jahan Dost" literally as "Vishvamitra", and thus misinterpret Iqbal's own couplets according to which –

Zer-i-nakhle Arif-e-Hindi nayad
Deeda ha az surma ash roshan samad
Mue har sar basta o uryan badan
Gird-i-u mare sufaidi halqa zan.

[The Indian Seer sat
Beneath a tree; he whose collyrium grants
New sight to eyes. Ungarbed his body was,
His long hair gathered on his head, his neck
Was circled by a writhing serpent white.]

(Translation – Shaikh Mahmud Ahmed)

This "mare sufaide halqa zan" (his neck was encircled by a writhing serpent white) reveals that here Iqbal has in his imagination Shivji Maharaj (Lord Shiva), the holy Spouse of Parvati and not Wishvamitra. Shivji carries the symbol of new moon on his forehead and Iqbal meets him in the Sphere of Moon.

This was just by way of a passing reference. What I actually mean to convey is that Iqbal holds Shivji in high

esteem as a spiritula force and as a fountains head that of philosophical thought, guiding mankind. Iqbals in this part of the "Javed Namah", has made Shivji explain the subtleties of Hindu philosophy also known as the ancient Indian philosophy and has thereby immortalized this philosophy in Persian poetry and literature. Among Indian poets it is only Iqbal to whom goes the credit of making this unique contribution to Persian literature, and those claiming to be the defenders and protagonists of Indian culture could not reach any place even nearer to Iqbal's in respect of contribution to literature on this score.

When Iqbal, in the course of his fanciful journey, reaches the Sphere of Moon, he finds himself in a strange world. He describes it as a strange old world, which is free from colour and sound. Here, there is neither any sign of Life nor of Death. Iqbal finds himself in a wonder-land! He is standing awe-stricken when Rumi comes to his rescue and tells him to ignore his surroundings, and to think of the World of reality where he wanted to take him. On this occasion Iqbal says –

Man cho koran dast bar dosh-i-rafiq
Pan nihadam andar aan ghar-e-ameeq
Mah ra az zulmatash dil dagh dagh
Andaru khurshid muhtaj-i-chiragh
Wehm-o-shak bar man shabeekhoon rekhtand
Aql-o-hosham ra badar awekhtand

[Like a blind man, my hand on my
companion's shoulder;
I put my foot within a deep cavern;
The moon's heart was sore ravaged
by its darkness,
Within it even the Sun would have
needed a lamp.
Fancies and doubts made assault upon me,

Hung my reason and sense upon the gallows.]

(Translation – A. J. Arberry)

This is what happens when Rumi, the Guru, and Iqbal, the Chela, enter the cave; but when they go in the presence of Shivji, things change and the scene shifts all of a sudden. Iqbal here says–

Ta nigah ra jalwa ha shud be-hijab
Subh-i-raushan be tulu-e-aftab
Dar hawa-e-u cho mai zauq-e-suroor
saya az taqbeel-i-khakash ain-i-nur
Nai zaminash ra sipehr-e-lajward
Nai kanqrash az shafaqha surkh-o-zard
Nur dar band-e-subha-o-sham anja na bud
Zer-i-nakhle arif-e-Hindi-nayad
Deeda ha az surma ash raushan sawad
Mue bar sar basta-o-uryan badan
Gird-i-u mare sufaide halqa zan

Abami az aab-o-gil bala tare
Alam az dair-o-khayalash paikare
Waqt-i-u ra gardish-i-neeli fam nai

[But soon a radiant dawn, without the sun,
Did flood its light and bared all
prospects. Lo !
A vale whose rocks wore sacred threads and trees
Like giants stook–I wondered what it was,
A real world or my thought limned in a dream,
Intoxicating was its air like wine,
Its shadows, mirrored in its earth, became
All light. Its globe was not encircled by
The azure vault, nor its horizons dyed
In red and gold by dawn, and dusk, and yet
Its morn and eve were smokeless, and its light

No darkness chained. The Indian seer sat
Beneath a tree; he whose collurium grants
New sight to eyes. Ungarbed his body was,
His long hair gathered on his head, his neck
Was circled by a writhing serpent white.
A man who rose above material things,
For whom the world was but an idol form
The temple of his thoughts, to whom nor time
Not the blue fateful sky brought any change.]

(Translation–Sheikh Mahmud Ahmed)

At this juncture, on account of Iqbal's tremendous amount of reverence for Shivji, the narration neither shows Iqbal addressing Shivji nor Shivji speaking to Iqbal, but, on the contrary–as the saying goes, "Let kings deal with kings" –Shivji speaks to Rumi

Guft ba Rumi ki hamrah-i-tu keest
Dar nigahash aarzu-e-zindgist

[He said to Rumi "Who is accompanying you?
I see a desire for life in his eyes".]

As we proceed on with the poem further, Iqbal's patriotic fervour gradually rises higher and higher. In reply to Shivji's question"–who is accompanying you?–" Rumi says

Marde andar justuju awarae
Pukhta tar karash zi khami-ha-i-u
Sabiite ba fitret-e-syyarae
Man shaheed-e-natamamiha-i-u
Har zaman az shauq mi nalad chunal
Mi kushad u ra firaq-o-ham visal
Man nadanam cheest dar aab-o-gilash
Man nadanam az maqam-o-manzilash.

[A man wandering in perpetual quest

Although (outwardly) like a fixed star
but (actually) having a planet's restlessness.
His enterprise is mature through his failings
I have no words to praise his imperfections.

Like a flute he is ever lamenting yearningly;
Separation and union both slay him alike,
I am not aware what element his water and
clay contains ;
I am not aware what rank and status he possesses.]

Thus, Rumi informs Shivji that his companion (Iqbal) has brought his problems before him and requests him to help solve his problems for him. Then Shivji asks Rumi –

Alam az rang ast-o-be rangist haq
Cheest Alam ? Cheest Adam ? Cheest Haq ?

[The universe is colourful, and God is
colourlessness,
But what is the Universe ? What is man ?
What is God ?]

Thereafter, Shivji announces the prophecy to Rumi that 'a new dawn is about to break on the horizon in the East'. Then he pauses for a moment and in the words of Iqbal–

Pir-i-Hindi andake dam dar Kasheed
Baz dar man deedo betabana deed
Guft marg-i-aql ? guftam tark-i-fikr
Guft marg-i-qalb ? guftam tark-i-zikr
Guft tan ? guftam ki zad az gard-i-rah
Guft jan ? guftam ki ramz-i-La Ilah
Guft Adam ? guftam az asrar-i-ust
Guft Alam ? guftam u khud rubrust
Guft in ilm-o-hunar ? guftam ki post
Guft hujjat cheest? guftam ru-i-dost
Guft deen-i-aamian? guftam ru-i-shaneed
Guft deen-i-aarifan ? guftam ki deed

Az kalamam lazzat-e-janash fuzood
Nukta hai dilnisheen bar man Kushood

[The sage of India was silent for a while;
And then he looked at me again, a bit
restlessly,
He asked, "What causes the death of the reason?"
I said, "To give-up thinking",
He asked, "What is the death of the heart?"
I said, "To stop praying".
He asked, "What is the body?" I said "it is
the dust we gather on the road".
He asked, "What is the soul?" I said, "It is
a symbol of 'There is no god but God'.

He asked, "What is man?" I said, "He is one
of the secrets of God Almighty".
He asked, "What is the Universe?" I said, "It
is the revelation of God"
He asked, "What is this science and what is
this art?" I said, "Nothing but shell".
He asked, "What is the path to belief and
gnosticism?" I said, "the face of the Friend".
He asked, "What is the faith of the common
People?" I said, "Just hearsay".
He asked, "What is the religion of the
gyostics?" I said, "What they see".
My words enhanced the pleasure of his soul,
And he unveiled delightful secrets before me.]

Now, Shivji explains to Iqbal the subtleties of Divine wisdom. These elucidations could truly be called the gems of Indian philosophy. Here is just one instance : –

Kafir-i-bedar dil pesh-e-sanam
Bih zi deendare ki khuft andar haram

[An infidel with his mind awake in front of

his idol
Is better than a faithful one asleep in the
mosque.]

This verse also incidentally shows what Iqbal meant by the terms 'Kafir' and 'Deendar'.

Shivji Maharaj becomes silent after elucidating nine philosophical points based on Hinduism. Here Iqbal says : –

Madr-i-aarif guftugoo ra dar bi-bast
Mast-i-khud gardeed o az aalam gusast
zauq-o-shauq u ra zi dast-i-u rubud
Dar wajud aamad zi nairang-e-shabad
Ba huzurash zarra ha manand-i-Tur
Be huzur-e-u na nur-o-nai zuhur
[The wise man finished his discourse
Became self-intoxicated and sundered
his self from the world–
From his own hands he was snatched
away by ecstacy and yearing
And then by the magic of the self-
expression he came into a new being.
In his presence grains of sand were
(shining like) the Mount Sinai;
And without him there was neither light
nor manifestation–]

Similarly, in the valley of Yarghamid, which "The angels call valley of Tawaseen", Gautam, the Budha is also seen along with Christ, Mohammad and Zorastra.[8] Iqbal has considered it necessary to incorporate in his magnum opus 'Javed Nama' the chapter in Indian philosophy, which contains the story of Gautam's encounter with a conquetish dancing-girl whom he addresses and says : –

Danish-e-Maghribian falsafa-e-mashriqian
Hama butkhana o dar tauf-i-butan cheeze neest

Az khud andesh o azeen badiya tarsan maguzar
Ki tu hasti o wujud-i-du jahan cheeze neest
Bugzar az ghaib ki in wehm o guman cheeze neest
Dar jahan budan o rastan zi jahan cheeze hast
An bahishte ki Khudae ba tu bakhshad hama hech
Ta jazae amal-e-tust jinan cheeze neest

[The reason of the West and the Eastern lore
Are idols false, whose worshipping is naughty.
Fear self alone and fearless cross this waste,
Because thou art and both the worlds are naught.
Illusion is the unknown; live
Yet worldly coil escape–'tis all
The heaven, a gift of God, is naught,
The heaven that thou may'st win is all]

(Translation – Shaikh Mahmud Ahmed)

Thus Iqbal, led by Rumi, goes from one planet to another. From the Moon they go to Mercury, then to Venus, then to Mars, and then to Jupiter. From Jupitor they reach Saturn. I reproduce below some verses from Iqbal's description of Saturn only to throw a little light on how deeply he loved India. This chapter deals with the base spirits who were traitors to India. These are the spirits whom, according to Iqbal, even Hell refused to accept. These are the spirits of Jafar and Sadiq. Idbal describes the Firmament of Saturn as :

Manzil-e-Arwah-i-be yum-un-nushoor
Dozakh az ihraq-i-shan aamad nufoor

[Lodging place of the spirits deprived
of resurrection
And also whom hell distained to burn.]

Then, referring to Jafar and Sadiq Iqbal says: –

Jafar az Bengal o Sadiq az Deccan
Nang-i-millat, nang-i-deen, nang-e-watan
Naqubul-o-na umid-o-na murad
Millat-e-az kar-i-shan andar fasad
Millate ku band-i-har millat kushad
Mulk-o-deenash az maqam-i-khud fitad
Mi nadani khitta-e-Hindostan
Aan aziz-e-Khatir-i-Sahibdilan
Khita-e-har jalwa ash geeti faroz
Darmayan-i-khak-o-khoon ghaltad hanoz
Dar gilash tukhm-e-ghulami ra ki kisht ?
In hama kirdar-i-aan arwah-i-zisht

[Jafar of Bengal and Sadiq of Deccan,
Shame to mankind, religion and fatherland,
Unaccepted, despairing, undesired,
A nation ruined by their handiwork.
A nation which had loosed the bonds of
every nation,
Thus lost its high sovereignty and its
faith.
Do you not know that the land of India,
Dear to the heart of every sensitive soul,
A land whose every manifestation lit up
the world,
Now growls amid dust and blood ?
Who sowed in its soil the seed of slavery ?
All this is the handiwork of those evil
spirits.]

(Translation – A. J. Arberry)

Now comes the time for the punishment of these vile spirits, which have betrayed the nation and have been rejected by the Hell. God knows what has been the nature of the punishment inflicted upon these base spirits, but the punishment given to them for their treachery to India as described by Iqbal is –

An chi deedam mi na gunjad dar bayan
Jan zi sehmesh be-khabar garded zi jan
Man chi deedam qulzume deedam zi khun
Qulzume tufan durun tufan biroon
Dar hawa maran chu dar qulzum nihang
Kafcha shabgun bal-o-par seemab rang
Maujha darrinda manand-e-palang
Az naheehash murda bar sahil nihang

Behr sahil ra aman yakdam na dad
Har zaman kuh para-e-dar khun fitad
Mauj-i-khun be maju-i-khun andar satez
Darmaynash zauraqe dar uft-o-khez
Andaran zauraq do mard-e-zard ru
Zard ru uryan badan ashafta mu

{What I beheld was indescribable;
Body by terror was disundered from soul.
What met my eyes! A sea of blood I viewed
Tempest-torn outwardly and inwardly;
The air swarmed with snakes, as with
sharks the sea,
Their blood black as night, their
pinions quicksilver;
Billows roaring and rending like panthers
So that the sharks in terror of them lay
dead on the shore.
The sea gave the shore not one moment's
respite;
Every instant mountain-blocks fell
crashing in blood.
Bloody wave fought with wave of blood,
Whilst in their midst a skiff tossed
up and down;
In the skiff were two men pale of cheek,
Plae of cheek, naked, with hair dishevelled]

(Translation — A. J. Arbery)

At this juncture, the 'Soul of India' appears. On the fore-head of this sould glows an inextinguishable light. In her eyes there is an ecstasy of wisdom and spirituality, which knows no decline. Her dress is woven with the fibres of the rose petals. Yet she is doomed to be in bondage and her lips quiver with sighs of grief. "This is the soul of India, and her wails pierce through the hearts of listeners", says Rumi to Iqbal. The "Soul of India" cries and says,"The flame of spiritualism is dying out in India and Indians are becoming oblivious to their honour. Who knows when this darkness (in India's history) will change into light (of freedom). Jafar is dead but his spirit still haunts India. This impure spirit (of Jafar) has been shifting from one body into another. Whatever appearance Jafar may put on, he remains a traitor to the community. May God save us from the spirits of such people and others of their kind"!

These vile spirits of Jafar and Sadiq whom Iqbal describes/ "pale-faced and naked with dishevelled hair", now tell their own tales of woe. One of them, wailing, says: – "we have been accepted neither by being nor by not-being. Alas. for the scorn that both being and not-being have shown to us! We passed through the world of East and West, till finally in severe pain and affliction we reached the gates of the Hell. But it did not spare even a single spark for Jafar and Sadiq, nor did it hurl at our heads a handful of ashes. Rather the Hell said that sticks and straws were better for Hell than these traitors and added that if would not allow these infidels to contaminate its flames. We journeyed beyond the nine firmaments in search of sudden death. The sudden death said that the soul was a secret among its secrets, and although the protection of soul and destruction of body was its function, the ugly and wicked souls were not worth two oats; and if they had come to the sudden death for their destruc-

tion, they should go back as the sudden death would not perform that job. Continuing, the sudden death said that the soul of a traitor could not find peace even in death". The same vile spirit, continuing its wailing, says : –

Ai hawa-e-tund ai darya-i-khun
Ai Zamin ai aasman-e-neelgoon
Ai nujoom ai aaftab ai mahtab
Ai salam ai loh-i-mahfuz ai kitab
Ai butan-e-abyaz ai lurdan-e-gharb
Ai Jahane dar baghal be harb-o-zarb
In jahan be ibtida be intihast
Banda-e-ghaddar ra maula kujast

[Swift winds ! O Sea of blood,
O earth, O azure heaven,
O stars, O shining moon, O Sun!
O Pen, O Preserved Tablet, O Book!
White idols! Lords of the West,
Who hold a world in your grip without
war and violence!
This world without beginning is without end;
Where is the Lord Protector of traitors ?]

(Translation – A. J. Arberry)

The journey to the spheres of Saturn brings to an end the journey to the firmaments and now begins the journey beyond the firmaments. In the course of this second phase of their journey, they (Rumi and Iqbal) meet the German philosopher, Nietzsche outside the boundaries of the Garden of Paradise. Inside the Garden of Paradise they meet Hazrat Syyed Ali Hamdani and Mulla Tahir Ghani Kashmiri, and these meetings are followed by their very significant meeting inside the same Garden of Paradise with Bhartari Hari, the famous poet of India, whose verse, reproduced below, makes the beginning of Iqbal's renowned collection of poems called 'Bal-i-Jibreel" : –

Phool ki patti se kat sakta hai heera ka jigar
Mard-i-nadan par kalam-e-narm-o-nazuk be asar

[It is possible to cut through a diamond with the
petal of a flower,
But not possible for delicate and subtle poetry
to make any impact on a man without culture.]

Rumi, when he sees Bhartari Hari, addresses Iqbal thus :–

An nawa pardaz-i-Hindi ra nigar
Shabnam az faiz-e-nigahe u guhar
Nukta arae ki namash Bartarist
Fitrat-e-u chun sahabe azarist
Az chaman juz ghuncha-e-nauras na cheed
Naghma-e-tu su-i-ma u ra kasheed
Badshahe ba nawa-e-arjamand
Ham ba faqr andar maqam-e-u baland
Naqsh-e-khube bandad az fikr-i-shagarf
Yak jahan maani nihan andar do harf
Kargah-e-zindgi ra mahram ast
U jamast-o-sher-i-u Jam-e-jamast
[Behold now that Indian minstrel
The grace of whose gaze converts the dew to pearls.
A broiderer of subtleties, his name is Bhartari
His nature generous as the clouds of Azar;
From the meadow he plucks only the new-
sprung buds
Your melody has drawn him towards us,
A king who, with a song sublime,
even in poverty[9] dwells in lofty exaltation;
With his delicate thought he designs images of beauty,
A whole world of meaning hidden in two words.
He is intimate with the workshop of life,
He is Jamshed, his poetry Jamshed's cup].

(Translation – A. J. Arberry)

The appreciation and praise of Bhartari Hari's poetry embodied in these verses of Iqbal is not merely conventional. Iqbal's sincere faith in Bhartari Hari's greatness as a poet is fully evident from a couplet which is yet to be quoted.

As in customery in the East and also in many other parts of the world, people rise as a mark of respect to great men of letters and artists. Therefore, when Bhartari Hari is visible to Rumi and Iqbal, not only Iqbal rises as a mark of respect to him but also his guru. On this occasion Iqbal says–

Ma ba tazeem-e-hunar barkhastem
Baz ba guftugoo aarastem

[We stood up in reverence for his art
And then started our discussion with him]

Here again, Iqbal shows the same esteem and appreciation for India's great cultural heritage and philosophy as he had shown when he met Shivji. Zinda Rud (Iqbal) addressing Bhartari Hari says –

Ai ki gufti nukta ha-e-dilnawaz
Mashriq az guftar-i-tu dana-i-raz
Sher ra soz az kuja ayad bigu
Az khudi ya az khuda ayad bigu

[You who have uttered heart-delighting subtleties,
Through whose discourse the East knows all mysteries,
Say, whence comes the fire into poetry ?
Does it come from the Self or from God ?]

(Translation – A. J. Arberry)

Bhartari Hari explains this subtle point to Iqbal and enlightening Iqbal about the place of poetry in life and art says :–

Ba do baite dar jahan-e-sang-o-khisht
Mi tawan burdan dil az hur-e-bahisht

[With two verses in this world of stone and brick
One can ravish the hearts of houris of Paradise.]

(Translation – A. J. Arberry)

Describing the condition of India on this occasion Iqbal says : –

Hindyan ra deeda am dar pech-o-tab
Sirr-i-haq waqt ast goi be hijab

[I have seen the Indians devoid of rest and peace :
It is time you reveal the secret of divine truth.]

In reply, Bhartari Hari gives Iqbal the message, which is the very essence of the philosophy preached in the Gita. The teachings of the Gita have, perhaps, so far been translated in Persian twice : for the first time when Faizi did it at the bidding of Emperor Akbar, and the second when Iqbal made Bhartari Hari explain the philosophy of the Gita in the poem quoted below :

In khudayan-i-tunuk maya zi sang and o zi khisht
Bastare hast ki durast zi dair o zi kunisht
Sajda be zauq-i-amal khushk o bejae narasad
Zindgani hama kirdar chi zeba-o-chi zisht
Zindgani hama kirdar chi zeba-o-chi zisht
Fash goyam ba to harfe ki nadanad hama kas
Ai khush an banda ki bar loh-i-dil u ra binivisht
In jahane ki tu beeni asar-e-yazdan neest
Charkha az tust o ham an rishta ki bar doh-i-to risht
Pesh-i-aain-i-makafat-amal Sajdah guzar
Zanki khezad zi amal dozakh-o-airaf-o-bahisht

[These frail gods are but of stone and brick

There is one more lofty, far from
temple and church.
Prostration without the joy of action
is dry and useless:
Life is all action, whether fair or foul.
I will tell you plainly a word not
known to every one –
Happy is the man who has written it on
his heart's tablet
This world you behold is not the
handiwork of God,
The wheel is yours, and the thread
spun on your spindle.
Prostrate yourself before the law of
action's reward,
For from action are born Hell,
Purgatory and Paradise.]

(Translation -- A. J. Arberry)

After meeting Bhartari Hari, Rumi and Iqbal move towards he palaces of Oriental kings, Nadir, Abdali and Tipu Sultan. Tipu Sultan addressing Iqbal, says : – "Tell me something about India, with whose blades of dry grass even gardens cannot match. Speak of India in whose mosques passion is dead, and in whose temples the fire is quenched. My heart has become all blood for this country and I have nursed her memoray in my soul. You may have from my grief an idea of sorrowful state of affairs in India. Alas! for the beloved who is not aware of the lover".

Iqbal informs Tipu Sultan that "India is tired of the British rule. The Britishers can no longer charm India, and the constitution framed by a foreign government hangs heavy upon the soul of India". The entire conversation between Tipu Sultan and Iqbal is very touching and soul-warm-

ing. Iqbal didn't go to jail for India's freedom, but it cannot be denied that he made a positive contribution to the cause of freedom with his pen. Tipu Sultan asks Iqbal : -

Zair-e-shehr-o-dayaram budaee
Chashm-i-khud ra bar mazaram sudaee
Ai shanas-e-hudud-e-kainat
Dar Deccan deedi zi asar-e-hayat ?

[You have been a pilgrim to my city
and my country,
You have rubbed your eyes upon my grave.
You are the one who knows the limits
of all creation,
Did you see any trace of life in Deccan ?]

Iqbal says in reply –

Tukhm-i-as ke rekhtam andar Daccan
Lalaha royad zi khak-e-an chaman
Rud-i-Kaveri mudam andar safar
Deda am dar jan-i-u shore digar

[I sowed the seeds of my tears in
(the soil of) Deccan ;
And (now) tulips are growing from the
soils of that garden.
The river Cavery is constantly in
travel ;
I have seen a new commotion in its
soul.]

Tipu Sultan, here, swears by the pathos, which he noticed in Iqbal's poetry and asks Iqbal to convey a brief message of his to the river Cavery. Addressing Iqbal he says, "Cavery is a living stream; and you are also a living stream. If you carry this message to Cavery, it would tentamount to integration of two musical tunes into a

symphony". And the message, delivered by Tipu Sultan to Iqbal for onward transmission to Cavery, constitutes, as Iqbal has rightly said, the last word in explaining the significance of Life, Death and Martyrdom. This part of Iqbal's poetical composition also disproves the "allegation' that he is pre-occupied in his poetry with references to rivers, mountains and places of interest in the Middle East to the exclusion of references to rivers and mountains, in India. Here Tipu Sultan describing river Cavery as:

Ai mara khushtar zi jehun-o-furat
Ai Deccan ra ab-i-tu ab-e-hayat.

[Far dearer to me than Oxus and Euphrates
Your water is the water of life for Deccan]

talks of Sirangapatam and the battles fought by him in defence of this city and his entire state. Throwing light on his philosophy of life, Tipu Sultan says that "life gains strength from resignation to God's will. Death is merely a magic-show, a mirage and a fantasy. The man of God is a lion, and death a deer. Death is but one stage for him out of a hundred stages that he crosses. The perfect man swoops upon death as eagle upon dove. The slave dies every moment with the fear of death. And due to the fear of death life becomes something forbidden for him. A free man has a glory of his own. On him death bestows a new life. He fears the self and not death, because to the free people death is no more than an instant". Iqbal has a purpose in view in reproducing his sublime concepts of Life and Death, particularly on this occasion. Perhaps, thereby he wants the Indians to drive away the fear of death from their hearts in their deadly fight against the Britishers. Such implications are also present in the compositions in which Ghani Kashmiri exhorts Iqbal to fight against imperialist forces and referring clearly to the

Nehru family says

Hind ra in zauq-i-azadi ki dad?
Said ra Sauda-i-Syyadi ki dad?
An Brahminzadgan-i-zinda dil
Lala-e-ahmar zi rue shan khajil
Tez been-o-pukhta kar-o-sakht kosh
Az nigah-e-shan Farang andar Kharosh
Asl-i-shan az khak-i-damangeer-i-mast
Matla-e-in akhtaran Kashmir-i-mast

[Who gave to India this yearning for
freedom?
Who gave the quarry this passion to
be the hunter?
Those scions of Brahmins, with
vibrant hearts,
Whose glowing cheeks put the red
tulip to shame—
Keen of eye, mature and strenuous in
action
Whose very glance puts Europe into
commotion.
Their origin is from this protesting
soil of ours,
The rising-place of these stars is
our Kashmir.]

(Translation by A. J. Arbeny)

We come across such **references to Indian life and culture** and history **not only in Iqbal's books mentioned above. The mathnani "Pas chi Bayad Kard Ai Aqwam-i-Sharq"** describes the subjugation **of India in great details** and with pathos. The dialogue between the **Ganges and the Himalayas** is a remarkable poem **and in it Iqbal has even referred to the** mythological origin of the **Ganges from the long tuft of hair**

of Shivji Maharaj. Iqbal continued with this mission even in his last Urdu book "Zarb-i-Kaleem". The poem in reference is "Shua-i-Ummid" (Ray of Hope) which will clearly show how wrong it is to say that after 1909 Iqbal even denied being an Indian.[10] In this poem a ray from the Sun becomes so bold as to say :–

Chhorun gi na main Hind ki tareek faza ko
Jab tak na uthen khwal se mardan-i-giran
khwab
Khawar ki umidon ka yahi khak hai markaz
Iqbal ke ashkon se yahi khak hai sairab
Chashm-e-mah-o-parveen hai isi khak se
roshan
Yeh khak hi hai jis ka khazaf reza dur-e-nah
Is khak se utthe hain woh ghawwas-i-maani

Yeh khak hi hai jis ka khazaf reza dur-e-nah
Is khak se utthe hain woh ghawwas-i-maani
jin ke liye har behr-i-pur ashob hai payab
[I woud not leave the black atmosphere of
India to remain black;
I will go on piercing it untill the people rise
from their slumber.
India is a focul point of the hopes of the East;
Iqbal has made this land fertile by his tears.
This land gives light to the moon and the
seven stars;
And even her piece of stone is better than a
big pearl.
Philosophers of great repute have risen from
this land,
For whom all the seas (wisdom) were shallow]

(Translated – A. J. Arberry)

NOTES

1. The Western scholars compare Iqbal to their geniuses like Dante and Milton. Like them Prof. Azad has certainly added to his greatness by comparing him to Aurobindoo and Abul Kalam Azad, two great Indian scholars known the world over.

2. The phrase 'Indian culture' should not be confined to Hindu culture only as is sometimes erroneously done. It is a culture to which Muslim saints and scholars of the sub-continent have no less contributed than the Hindu mystics and sages.

3. Dr. A. Schimmel has described Iqbal as 'a many-sided personality' and 'patriotism' is, at best, one of these sides. It by no means reflects Iqbal's whole personality and thought.

4. Where 'Himala' is a mark of Iqbal's patriotic feelings, it more so betokens 'height and dignity' which always took his fancy. It is, none the less, a local reference which there are so many in his works.

5. But for *Armughan-i-Hidjaz*, all of Iqbal's collections were compiled and published under his personal care and supervision. On second thoughts, he left out a host of verses on some understandable grounds. It is, therefore, not fair to him to form an opinion on his views on the basis of those left-out and, perhaps, disowned thoughts.

6. 'Patriotism' in the territorial sense is certainly repugnant to Islamic brotherhood. If, however, we take this term and 'nationalism' in a much wider sense, acceptable to Islamic view, i.e. in the sense of 'Ummah', then it will lose its repugnant sense.

7. 'Vishwamitra' is the literal translation of 'Jahan Dost', while Lord Shiva in Hindu mythology is the Deity or God in relation to the world. So, in this aspect Lord Shiva is the Vishwamitra.

8. Through the teachings of the Christ, Lord Buddha, Zoroaster, and Muhammad (peace be upon them), Iqbal has represented four great cultures of the world which have exerted influence on his own thought.

9. 'Asceticism' is a better translation in the opinion of the author.

10. Translation of 'Khak-i-damangir-i-mast', according to Sheikh Mahmud Ahmad, is 'this our soil, our catching earth'. The author favours this translation.

IQBAL : POET AND POLITICIAN[1]

Nirad Chaudhri once wrote about Tagore : "The more the Bengalis are worshipping Tagore as an idol, the more false are they becoming themselves and, at the same time, less capable of seeing what is really great in Tagore. Both the worshipped man and the worshipper are suffering". (The Illustrated Weekly of India, March 11, 1973). I was reminded of this quotation when a little later I saw a press report covering a symposium on "Iqbal, Poet of the East", organised by the Urdu Department of one of the Universities of India on March 31, the same year. According to the report, one of the speakers at the symposium said : "Iqbal is often taken as a politician or a philosopher of Islamic ideology", And he went on to corredt this "wrong impression" by saying that "in fact he was an advocate of human unity". Perhaps, according to the learned speaker, "a politician or a philosophar of Islamic ideology" cannot be an advocate of human unity. The learned speaker's analysis and synthesis both require a thoughtful moment.

A PHILOSOPHER OF ISLAMIC THOUGHT[2]

Dr. Mohammed Iqbal was a politician as well as a philosopher of Islamic ideology and to deny this would be denying

the facts of history. It was as a politician and a philosopher of Islamic ideology that he gave to the world his concept of international brotherhood.

Before discussing the issue at length, however, it would not be out of place to point out that Iqbal's entire system of thought crumbles down if we deny him the revered position of a philosopher of Islamic ideology in the comity of world thinkers, so rightly deserved by him.

His lectures on Islam which he delivered at Madras, Hyderabad Mysore and Aligarh in 1928 established his position as a philosopher of Islamic ideology. So much so that Lord Irwin and Lord Lothian invited him to lecture at Oxford on the same subject. In the short preface to the collection of these lectures entitled "The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam" Iqbal says : "I have tried to meet, even though partially the urgent demand by attempting to reconstruct Muslim religious philosophy with due regard to the philosophical tradition of Islam and the more recent developments in the various domains of human knowledge". Referring to these lectures late Prof. M. M. Sharif, former Director, Institute of Islamic Culture, Lahore argues : "It can justly be said that Iqbal is the greatest thinker that the Muslim world has produced during the last six centuries".The same writer observes in his Collection of Papers (Part II) that "Iqbal is undoubtedly a poet of Islam" (About Iqbal and His Thought, Institue of Islamic Culture, Lahore., 1964, page 37).

UNCRITICAL APPROACH

The question now arises : After all how does it detract even an inch from Iqbal's greatness as a poet if, in addition to

being an advocate of human unity/he is also recognised as a politician or a philosopher of Islamic ideology? What is wrong with being a philosopher of Islamic ideology or a politician which he positively was? The present-day approach of some of Iqbal's worshipping critics would not lead us either to an objective analysis of Iqbal's system of thought or a critical appreciation of his poetry. The sooner we free ourselves of this exercise in futility, the better for the critics and Iqbal both. Instead of advocating Iqbal's nationalism irrationally or making frantic efforts to defend him as a "patriot", we should try to understand what he meant by life which, according to him, "is not a completed act but an evolutionary process". The loftiness of his poetic imagination imbued with the question as to how personality can be enriched and developed is an issue that requires our attentive study. The country is in need of a Personality today. Let us join Iqbal in search of this Personality or Self which "gains strength from all-pervading love" and not try to create "Literary" or "Philosophical" bubbles through our ostentations imagination.

It is all the more unhelpful to the cause of literature if we, consciously or unconsciously, try to fit Iqbal's system of thought in the frame-work of our present-day secular approach to life and politics. It would be disastrous in consequences if secularism functions as an obsession in the minds of our literary critics. Secularism as such is a means to an end, and not an end in itself. Today, majority of writers in India are for secular approach in literature; but on this issue onw won't take uo cudgels with T. S. Eliot, who says: "Literary criticism should be completed by criticism from a definite ethical and theological stand-point". Nor is one justified

to belittle Iqbal's importance as an artist on the ground of one's disagreement with him on political issues. Political views, I am afraid, are no criteria to describe Chakbast as a great poet and Iqbal as otherwise.

In the study of Iqbal, what one has to be cautious about is that religion is not to be confused with communalism. Iqbal's reference to the Holy Prophet, the Quran and Islam as also to Bhagvat Geeta, Lord Krishna, Rama and Gautam the Buddha establish beyond doubt that he drew his inspiration from religious sources. His approach to the teachings of Islam, as the title of his seven lectures–"The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam"–indicates, was not in a traditional way, but based on a modern outlook. I shall, however, deal with this issue rather at length later in this paper.

IQBAL AS A POLITICIAN

Regarding whether Iqbal was a politician or not, one has simply to glance at the period in which Iqbal was living. Iqbal was the President of the Punjab Muslim League for a number of years till a little before his death when, due to his failing health, he was physically unable to bear this heavy burden. Earlier, he was President of the All-India Muslim League (Session at Allhabad in 1930) and in his Presidential address he announced : ". . . . . I would like to see the Punjab, North-Western Frontier Provinces, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated in a single state. Self-government within the British Empire, or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be final destiny of the Muslims at least of

North-West India". He also entered the election arena and was a member of the Punjab Legislative Council for four years. V. G. Kiernan, author of "Poems from Iqbal" believes in him as a political poet. The memorable words in which Mr. M. A. Jinnah remembered him after his death are : "He was President of the Provincial Muslim League of the Punjab, till a very recent time, when his unforeseen illness compelled him to resign, but he was the staunchest and most loyal champion of the policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League". In the words of "The Statesman", New Delhi dated April 23, 1938, "In the formative constitutional period of the twenties and early thirties, Sir Mohammad Iqbal took a leading part in Indian politics, attending the Round Table Conference, and presiding at Muslim Conference in this country. He gave the Muslims good leadership and shrewd advice".

In view of these observations it appears naive, rather gimmickal, to insist on the hypothesis that Iqbal was not a politician.

IN QUEST OF TRUTH

The story of the development of Iqbal's thought is the story of the search for truth. Iqbal Singh has rightly described him as "an ardent pilgrim" in his remarkable book on the poet. Philosophy for Iqbal is not a view of life but a way of life. Therefore, at this critical juncture of our history it does not behove Iqbal's admirers, (after maintaining inexplicable silence for over twenty-seven years) to start with fresh Assessment of this great philosopher-poet by making the truth their first casualty. Let us, for the sake of truth which was so dear to Iqbal, not try to erase the political life of Iqbal from the pages of the history of India in our zeal to rewrite

it. This patronizing attitude of Iqbal's worshippers not only reveals their unawareness of Iqbal's greatness as an artist, but is also misleading and, at the same time, insulting to Iqbal.

BUILDER OF PAKISTAN ?

Another press report of the same symposium says : "Some people are believe that Iqbal the poet, was the builder of Pakistan. Speakers at the symposium were vehement in denying the charge". But actually who was the builder of Pakistan is not an easy question to be answered, and it is outside the scope of this paper also to discuss this subject at length; but to say that Iqbal made no positive contribution to the building up of the theory of Pakistan is, again, an attempt to distort history. Here, I would like to quote a few authorities on Iqbal. Dr. Mohammad Sadiq in his "History of Urdu Literature" (Oxford University Press, London, 1964, pp. 359) argues saying : –

> "He was the advocate of Pakistan, and in his Presidential address at the meeting of the Muslim League in 1930, he elaborated his idea of Pakistan as a solution of the political dead-lock in India". . . "Ideologically the poetry of Iqbal falls into two unequal periods. He began as an enthusiastic exponent of nationalism, but recanted it soon after and remained for the greater part of his life as unwearied exponent of Pan-Islamism. So great was his revulsion that he came to treat his nationalist verse as no better than literary wild oats or a boyish escapade, and made cautious excisions from it before giving it to the people".

Miss M. T. Stepanyants, discussing the problems of

ontology and gnosiology in Pakistan philosophy in her book entitled "Pakistan : Philosophy and Sociology" (Moscow 1971) argues; "The immediate precursors of the contemporary philosophies of Pakistan were three outstanding Indian Muslim thinkers–Shah Waliullah (1703-1762) Saiyad Ahmad Khan (1817–1898) and Mohammad Iqbal (1873–1938). Their names represent land-marks in the reconstruction of Islam in India from which the content of Pakistan philosophical thought is derived".

Dr. Moin Shakir writes in his book "Khilafat to Partition" (New Delhi, 1970) :

> "The society and the state which Iqbal visualised was based upon his view of Islam . . . The politics especially in the Punjab and generally in India, the emergence of Hindu militant groups, communal riots, general condition of Muslims and lack of discipline and organisation among them led him to remark that 'the problem in India is international and not national'. He also suggested to the idea of a separate Muslim state in the North in his presidential address to the Muslim League in 1930".

Dr. Moin Shakir, however, tries to take the sting out of the "allegation" by saying that "this demand was only for a state within a state, and not for an altogether separate State. No question of partition was involved". Iqbal's original address, however, gives no clear indication in support of Dr. Moin Shakir's interpretation.

Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan says in "Yadon Ki Dunya" that in 1937 when he met Iqbal, he had not renounced the idea of a separate state. He was "very anxious about the future of Indian Muslims . . .unless they have a separate state, their religion and culture will be in jeopardy".

It would be unfair from point of view of objective study to allow Dr. Yusuf Hussain Khan's reminiscences pass as authentic without quoting Jawaharlal Nehru, who met Iqbal in January 1938, a few months before the latter's death. Says Jawaharlal Nehru in the "Discovery of India" : "Iqbal was one of the early advocates of Pakistan and yet he appears to have realised its inherent danger and absurdity. [3] Edward Thompson has written that, in the course of conversation, Iqbal told him that he advocated Pakistan because of his position as President of the Indian Muslim League Session, but he felt sure that it would be injurious to India as a whole and to Muslims especially. Probably he had changed his mind, or he had not given much thought to the question previously, as it had assumed no importance then. His whole outlook on life does not fit in with the subsequent developments of the idea of Pakistan or division of India". The so called modern and liberal critics of Iqbal need a lot to learn from Jawaharlal Nehru's balanced and objective study of Iqbal in so far as methodology of criticism is concerned.

IQBAL AND PAN-ISLAMISM

From Pakistan to Pan-Islamism is a long jump, but it is worthwhile to study Iqbal's views on Pan-Islamism side by side with his views on Pakistan. While we create a credibility gap by saying that Iqbal had nothing to do with the idea of Pakistan Jawaharlal Nehru clears the position to a great extent by saying that "Iqbal was one of the early advocates of Pakistan," but at a later stage of his life "he appears to have realized its inherent danger and absurdity". A coherent study of Iqbal's thought on Pan-Islamism may make the position more clear and Iqbal may not stand in need of

advocacy from his worshipping admirers. Firstly, a word from Iqbal himself: "I confess to be a Pan-Islamist. The mission for which Islam came into this world will ultimately be fulfilled, the world will be purged of infidelity and the worship of false gods, and the true soul of Islam will be triumphant. I convey the same message to the Muslimans through my poems. I want to see the same spirit in my co-religionists as once pervaded the early followers of Islam, who in spite of their wealth, never hankered after this mortal world. This is the religious spirit which was manifest among the Musalmans when they were kings and emperors, and believed in the principle that the whole earth belongs to God and none else. This is the kind of Pan-Islamism that I preach".

All this has been quoted not with a view to establishing that Iqbal was for a separate state for Muslims of India, but to make the point that, instead of refuting the historical facts and "advocating" Iqbal unnecessarily on imaginary lines, the right course would be to analyse the issue in the context of socio-political conditions prevailing on the sub-continent in the days of Iqbal. It is high time that we rise above the school-boyish level of approach to literatteurs like Iqbal and undertake to study them in their ture perspective.

Iqbal was a great poet of India in spite of what he politically was. Why should we make it obligatory on him to appear before us as a non-politician or a politician of our choice before we recognize him as a great poet. Perhaps, Iqbal's so-called admirers are not aware of the fact that they are under no compulsion to recognize Iqbal as a great poet of India, if he does not deserve that status on the basis of merit. They did not care to remember him for about 27 years

after independence. They sould have continued this attitude towards him even after that. There is no harm in rejecting him as poet if, according to their literary standards, political views of a poet are to be the criteria of his poetic greatness, and in the case of Iqbal they do not find him up to the standard set by them. But let them not misquote him and distort his views.

Iqbal's greatness does not lie in his political views but in his creative art, which derived inspiration from four sources–Islam, Western thought, Hindu philosophy and, last but not the least, his own Self or Ego. He was a poet-philosopher and his poetry reveals his intense desire to know the Ultimate Reality. His greatness lies in his questioning mind and not in any political or philosophical solution of a problem whichhe offered.

COUNTRY AS A POLITICAL CONCEPT

Without trying to lean for support against Dr. Moin Shakir's argument that Iqbal's demand was only "for a state within a state", and not "for an altogether separate state", I would like to analyse the issue in historical perspective.

In early twenties, the Islamic World was facing a real threat of dissolution under pressure of European powers. In those days, Iqbal was in England and the relationship between various European countries, as also the attitude of the European countries towards Muslim countries in the Middle East, revealed to him that what was being publicised in the name of nationalism was in fact "narrow nationalism." He got disgusted with it and as an onset against aggression of Western countries over Muslim countries he, discarding the concept of nationalism, tried to find an answer to this pro-

blem in the Pan-Islamism as the political goal of the Muslim world.[4] The treatment which he prescribed for the ailment might be, and perhaps was, defective, but by no stretch of imagination his diagnossis can be called imperfect. In the comity of thinkers, it was not only Iqbal who outgrew the concept of nationalism. In this regard he is in the company of many more preceding him and coming after him. Karl Marx and Tagore are both,like Iqbal, disgusted and fed up with the concept of nationalism bordering on "narrow nationalism." In the case of one, socialism followed by communism is the answer to the problem; while for the other, "Religion of Man" is the cure of ills. Jawaharlal Nehru, who will go down in the annals of history as a great fighter for the cause of nationalism, ultimately gave us a concept of world federation or the Global Government, as it is generally called.

It would be worthwhile to mention here that there is a very thin line separating nationalism from narrow nationalism, and as soon as nationalism, under pressures and compulsions degenerates, in the course of time, into narrow or aggressive nationalism, sensitive minds do rebel against it and in the process offer an alternate solution – be he Engels, Iqbal or Jamal-ud-Din Afghani. It is, therefore, an exercise in futility to have a seminar on Iqbal every time beginning with the dogma that "Iqbal was a patriot and a nationalist", and ending with the maxim that "he had nothing to do with politics or, for that matter, with the creation of Pakistan". This over-simplification of an issue, which requires a thorough analysis of Iqbal's mind and art as the part of literary criticisus, lacks imagination and academic approach.

Iqbal's peom "Wataniat" (Nationalism), with a subtitle "Country as a Political Concept", clearly indicates that

he is opposed to the evils emanating from the so-called nationalism that he saw in Europe. In this poem he says:

Is daur men mai aur hai jaam aur hai jam uar
Saqi ne bina ki ravish-e-lutf-o-karam aur
Muslim ne bhi tameer kiya apna harm aur
Tahzeeb ke Aazar ne tarashwai sanam aur
In Taza khudaon men bara sab se watan hai
Jo pairhan is ka hai woh mazhab ka kafan hai

Yeh but hi tarasheeda-i-tehzeeb-i-navi hai
Ghairat gar-i-kashana-i-din-Nabavi hai
Bazu tira taucheed ki daulat se qawi hai
Nazzara-e-derina zamane Ko dikha de
Ai Mustafawi khak men is but to mila de
Aqwam-i-jahan men hai raqabat to isi se
Taskheer hai maqsood-i-tijarat to isi se
Khali hai sadaqat se siasat to isi se

Kamzor ka ghar hota hai gharet to isi se
Aqwam men makhuluq-i-khuda batti hai is se
Qaumiyat-i-Islam ki jar katti hai is se

[In this new age wine cup and jamshed are all different (from the previous ones);
The cup-bearer has adopted a new mode of his benevolence and generosity.
The sculptor of modern civilization has chiselled out new idols;
The Muslim has also constructed a new Heram for himself.
Among these new gods, the greatest one is the country,
The attire that adores this god serves as a shroud for religion.

This idol, hewn by the modern civilization,
Is the demolisher of the abode of Prophet's religion.

Your arm derives strength from the wealth of Unity;
You are the Prophet's man, Islam is your country,
Exhibit by-gone scenes before the present age;
O man of the Prophet, turn this idol into dust!

The rivalry among the nations of the world is on
account of this;
If conquest is the aim of trade and commerce, it is
on account of this;
If politics is devoid of truth, it is on account of
this;
If the home of the weak is destroyed, it is on
account of this;
It is this which divides God's creation into nations;
And it is this that cuts at the very roots of
nationality of Islam.]

This approach to nationalism is illucidated further by Iqbal when he says : "I am opposed to nationalism, as it is understood in Europe, because I see in it the germs of atheistic materialism, which I look upon as the greatest danger to modern humanity. That which really matters is a man's faith, his culture, his historical tradition–things worth living for and dying for–not the piece of earth with which the spirit of man happens to be temporarily associated. Islam, as a religion, has no country. So long as this so-called democracy, this accursed nationalism, this degraded imperialism, are not shattered, men will never be able to lead a happy and contented life, and the beautiful ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity will never materialize". Rightly or wrongly, he applied the same principle to the conditions prevailing in the Indian sub-continent.[5]

Describing the development of political thought of Iqbal, Dr. Mohammed Sadiq writes in his book, "A History of Urdu

Literature": "Pan-Islamism, in as much as it aims at promoting unity and sense of brotherhood among Muslims all over the world, is in reality as old as Islam itself. It is said to derive its sanction from a saying of the Prophet (p.b.u.h) to the effect that all Muslims are brethren. It was at best a tepid dogma and remained ineffective for centuries except during the Crusades, when a common danger led to a concerted action among some Muslim countries". In this context, Aziz Ahmad, Associate Professor of Islamic Studies in the University of Toronto, describing Iqbal as an intellectual leader of Muslim India" writes in his book, "Studies in Islamic Culture in Indian Environment":–

> . . . On the political plane Iqbal accepted al-Afghani's view of regarding Mecca as accepted religious centre; he searched for a political centre of Dar-al-Islam by examining al-Mawardi's theories in the light of recent developments and in agreement with Turkish thinker, decided to leave the vexed question of the Khilafat aside for the time being and arrived at a multi-national concept of Pan-Islamism. This made it possible for him to reduce al-Afghani's concept of a North-West-Indian-and-Central-Asian Muslim State within the Indian sub-continent. Since the concept of such a state implied secession from predominantly Hindu India, he retained at least one element of Sayyed Ahmad Khan's political thought, i.e., Muslim separatism within the sub-continent.

However, Dr. Mohammed Sadiq's study in this regard is more revealing and reminds us of Jawaharlal Nehru's assessment of Iqbal's views on Pakistan during that last years of his life quoted earlier. Dr. Mohammed Sadiq, discussing the question of nationalism and Pan-Islamis, says: "Pan-Islamism is,

therefore, pure moonshine, an iridescent bubble with which Iqbal used to beguile his visionary moments- - - Strange as it may sound, it appears that Iqbal had completely changed his views in regard to Pan-Islamism towards the end of his life.[6] He explained to one of his interlocutors in 1934:

> "This doctrine (Pan-Islamism) was formulated by a French statesman, who name I cannot now recall, with a view to inflaming the feelings of European nations against Muslim countries and by frightening them of Muslim aggression to give them an excuse for interference in their countries. English statesmen themselves gave currency to it in India in order that Muslims should not attend to internal political questions, and should dissipate their power of action by lip-sympathy with the Muslim world. They wished that Indian Muslims should not be practical but theoretical".

Dr. Mohammed Sádiq says this on the authority of Dr. Qazi Abdul Hamid. He further adds : "It is interesting to know that his emphatic disclaimer belongs to the period when the idea of Pakistan was already in the air and when Muslim Statesmanship in India was at last becoming practical.

Here, I would also like to quote Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah who declared on the occasion of the inauguration of Iqbal Exhibition at Srinagar in October 1973 that "Iqbal advised me to convert the Muslim Conference into the National Conference".[7]

CRITICAL APPROACH

The analytical study of Iqbal's political thought by Jawaharlal Nehru and Dr. Mohammed Sadiq (Chairman and

Professor, Department of English, Government College, Lahore), is far more academic and realistic than that of Iqbal's so-called admirers in some of the Indian Universities who, in their zeal to advocate Iqbal's patriotism, are shouting at the top of their voice that he was not a politician". Politician he was, a fact that cannot be denied, but may be not of the choice of many of Iqbal's so-called admirers. And poet indeed, a great poet, whom India can feel proud of. It would not be out of place to quote here Arther Symens who says in the "Introduction to Coleridge's Biographia Literaria": "The aim of criticism is to distinguish what is essential in the work of a writer. What we ask of him is that he should find out for us more than we can find out for ourselves. It is the delight of a critic to praise, but praise is scarcely a part of his duty". Coupled with this, the following extract from Macaully in his "Essay on Bacon" would make the point more clear. "The fanaticism of the devout worshipper of a genius is proof against all evidence, and all argument. The character of Idol is a matter of faith; and the province of faith is not to be invaded by reason. He maintains his credulity with his superstitution as boundless, and zeal as unscrupulous, as can be found in the most ardent partisans of religious and political factions. The most decisive proofs are rejected; the plainest rules are explained away; extensive and important portions of history are completely distorted. The enthusiast misrepresents facts with all the affrontery of an advocate; and all this only in order that some man, who has been in his grave, may have a fairer character than he deserves".

ISLAM AS I UNDERSTAND IT

That Iqbal drew mostly upon Islamic sources for his inspiration, and the roots of his philosophy lie deep in those

sources, is not a debatable point. Nor is a section of the literary critics justified to make the issue a target of its damaging criticism, unless the intention is to tarnish the image of Islam in India. And in that case, as is obvious, it would be well-nigh impossible to appreciate the heights of Iqbal's poetic flights, or the depth of his intrinsic thought blended with emotion. The dictum also holds good in the case of many other great poets like Dante and Milton whose artistic beauties one cannot appreciate without having a sympathetic understanding of realities and truths of Christianity. And Kalidas, Rishi Valmik and Tulsi Das remain only a jumble of words if we study them without having a feel for Hinduism.

Mr. K. G. Saydain writes in his essay on "Progressive Trends in Iqbal's Thought" that "he (Iqbal) draws his inspiration mainly from the teachings of Islam". Here of course, one has to exercise some caution and draw a line between the traditional interpretation of Islam and the one offered by Iqbal in his poetry, and in more clear and lucid expression in his collection of lectures entitled "The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam".

In the brief preface to this book Iqbal, while differentiating between the traditional interpretation of Islam and his own, argues : "The more genuine schools of sufism, have no doubt, done good work, in shaping and directing the evolution of religious experience in Islam; but their later-day representatives, owing to their ignorance of the modern mind, have become absolutely incapable of receiving any fresh inspiration from modern thought and experience".[8]

This scathing criticism of those "absolutely incapable of receiving any fresh inspiration from modern thought and

experience", coupled with his progressive outlook, is the key-note of Iqbal's philosophical system and an important contributory factor to his poetry. Referring to the lectures contained in this book he says : "It must, however, be remembered that there is no such thing as finality in philosophical thinking. As knowledge advances and fresh avenues of thought are opened, other views and probably sounder views than those set forth in these lectures, are possible. Our duty is carefully to watch the progress of human thought, and to maintain an independent critical attitude towards it". Again, "during the last five hundred years religious thought in Islam has been practically stationary. There was a time when European thought received inspiration from the world of Islam. The most remarkable phenomenon of modern history, however, is the enormous rapidity with which the world of Islam is spiritually moving towards the West. There is nothing wrong in this movement, for European culture, on its intellectual side, is only a further development of some of the more important phases of culture of Islam. Our only fear is that the dazzling exterior of European culture may arrest our movement and we may fail to reach the true inwardness of that culture. During all the centuries of our intellectual stupor Europe has been seriously thinking on the great problems in which the philosophers and scientists of Islam were so keenly interested. Since the middle ages, when the schools of Muslim theology were completed, infinite advance has taken place in the domain of human thought and experience. The extension of Man's power over Nature has given him a new faith and a fresh sense of superiority over the forces that constitute his environment. New points of view have been suggested, old problems have been restated in the light of fresh experience, and new problems have arisen. It

seems as if the intellect of man is outgrowing its own most fundamental categories—time, space and causality. With the advance of scientific thought even our concept of intelligibility is undergoing a change. The theory of Einstein has brought a new vision of the universe and suggests new ways of looking into the problems common to both religion and philosophy. No wonder then that the younger generation of Islam in Asia and Africa demand a fresh orientation of their faith. With the reawakening of Islam, therefore, it is necessary to examine, in an independent spirit, what Europe has thought and how far the conclusions reached by her can help us in the revision and, if necessary, reconstruction, of theological thought in Islam".

My apologies for this rather lengthy extract. But without this, it would not be possible to visualise Iqbal's approach to Islam as he understood it. It would not be out of place to mention here that Iqbal, referring to the idea of this book, wrote to Prof. Ghulam Mustafa Tabusum, saying that he would like to call this book "Islam as I understand it". In the same letter he wrote : "Most of my life has been spent in the study of European philosophy and that point of view has become my second nature. Consciously or unconsciously I study the realities and truths of Islam from the same point of view".

AS A POET[9]

It is not a happy augury that the worshippers of Iqbal, while paying homage to him, overlook a basic issue and this is Iqbal's poetry and its place in world literature. It is more in the capacity of a poet than any other capacity that Iqbal is to be assessed, a task almost forgotten by Iqbal's admiring critics. Nawab Saadat Ali Khan pointed out to this lapse on

the part of Iqbal's admirers as far back as 1943, when he wrote in the first issue of the "Indian Art and Literature", London : "Soon after his (Iqbal's) death, his poetry became the subject of uncritical admiration by a host of worshipping critics".

A little after Iqbal's death, a noted Urdu poet of the sub-continent, Ehsan Danish, during a discussion on Iqbal's poetry observed that "Iqbal is just a versifier and not a poet". It can confidently be said that Firaq Gorakhpuri's and Josh Maliabadi's opinions about Iqbal's poetry are not far different from this. However, Josh and Ehsan have not gone to the length of recording their views on Iqbal's poetry for obvious reasons. But their opinion is finding its echo in the utterances of ultra-modern writers of Urdu, according to whom, a sizeable portion of Iqbal's poetry is bare statement of facts without any poetic fervour. Examining Iqbal's diction and imagery Dr. Mohammad Sadiq says : –

> "Iqbal's poetry, as is well known/is heavily charged with the erotic diction and imagery of ghazal. The question before us is this : How does Iqbal use the language inherited from the past ? Does he try to tame it to his individual requirements, or does he come under the category of poets of low vitality who, in the words of Professor Lowes, 'enclose themselves like hermit-carbs, generation after generation, in the cast-off shells of their predecessors".
>
> "Iqbal does not try to winnow and purify the diction that has come down to him. He takes it as he found it, and uses it without much consideration of its propriety. His mind runs in grooves. His memory is stocked with a limited number of words, metaphors, and similes borrowed from his

predecessors, and he employs them again and again. 'The problem of style', writes Pater, 'is to find the unique word, phrase, sentence, paragraph, essay, or song, absolutely proper to the single mental presentation or vision within'. Iqbal does not usually mould his language to his individual use. He follows the line of least resistance, abounding cliches, faded words, and dead metaphors". [10]

As far back as 1947, Sichdanand Sinha described Iqbal's poetry as unmusical and lacking in rhythem. [11] This was taken notice of by Prof. M. M. Sharif who wrote to Dr. Sinha in "an unfinished letter :–"......... But nothing has given me greater surprise than the view that Iqbal's poetry is unmusical and lacks rhythem. There are hundreds of his poems which are supremely musical and rhythmic. I would have given examples, if they were only a few". However, long before Dr. Sichdanand Sinha's above-quoted comments appeared in his book on Iqbal, Syyed Abdul Latif had in a way established Hali's superiority over Iqbal in the matter of "simplicity, clearness, grace and beauty of language and diction".[12] Discussing Iqbal as a poet, Syyed Abdul Latif says in his book entitled "The Influence of English Literature on Urdu Literature" ; "In fact, if we accept the writings of Dr. Iqbal as the best specimen of the literary production of this latest school of sentimental poetry, we shall not fail to notice a distinct retrogression, a return to the style of the poets whom Hali had deliberately relegated to the limbo of oblivion. This aspect will at once force itself on our attention when we place the "Flow and Ebb of Islam" of Hali and the "Complaint" and "Reply to the Complaint" of Iqbal side by side–both treating of the same subject and both written in the same stanza. In the one there is simplicity, clearness, grace and beauty of language and diction and a marvellous control

over the form and subject. Above all there is an utter disregard of convention. In the other, there is no doubt a certain charm of expression—suggestive of deep feeling, but none of the outstanding qualities characterising the "Flow and Ebb of Islam". Iqbal's "Complaint" begins in the conventional style, and in the conventional language. The conventional touch is present throughout. Words and phrases and figures of speech which for centuries have formed the stock-in-trade of the composer of the love and Sufistic songs are freely employed. There is too much artifice in the expression and very little simplicity. It might be urged that the theme of the poem, being so grand, called for a grand style. But a grand style is not synonymous with pomposity. Nor is it opposed to clearness. Any poem or any piece of literature which fails to produce an unified effect is defective to that extent. . . . But here we cannot refrain from observing that his art does not by any means reach the standard and excellence of that of Hali; and in fact does not show any clear traces of the influence of the forms and technique of English poetry such as the other does".

Here I would also like to quote Kaleem-ud-Din Ahmad who says : – "Iqbal has no place in world literature....... It is the message which is important in Iqbal's poetry and this message in most cases does not turn into poetry . . . If we study Iqbal's poetry keeping in view the difference between pure message and real poetry, a very small number of Iqbal's poems will come upto the standard of real poetry...... Iqbal's Persian poetry, if compared to his Urdu poetry, is more colourful and has more intrinsic value, but here also his long poems consist more of messag and less of poesy. Whether it is "Asrar-i-Khudi" or "Rumuz-i-Bekhudi" or "Gulshan-i-Raz-i-Jadeed" or "Javed Namah", they all contain useful points, but these useful points are just points and not poetry".

And Baqar Medhi says :– "I for one always feel let down when I go to him. I am put off by his declamatory voice–he can never speak in whispers–and by his simplistic answers .... There is a place of ideas in poetry but only if they are deeply felt and have turned into blood and nerve and bone. Iqbal's ideas do not dissolve into his verse. They stand out, very often like a sore thumb. They look like an imposition. .... There is also a place for religious belief in poetry, but to move, to carry conviction. Such belief has to have its root in doubt, in uncertainty, in the kind of questioning, which ters at a man's soul. Iqbal is never wrecked by doubt or uncertainty ..... There is no sense of mystery in him. There are no shadows and no dark sides to things........ more often than not to sound more like a preacher than a poet. . . Again be it the meaning of life, the place of women in society, the philosophy of the Self, education, democracy or the cinema– he is only too ready to turn out an editorial in verse."

This is not at all astonishing. Perhaps Iqbal's worshipping admirers are fully aware how little has been written about Iqbal as a poet. Almost all noted writers on Iqbal have taken his philosophy only as something genuine and real and have produced volumes on it. What is equally needed is a proper and fuller assessment of the formal aspect of Iqbal's poetry, almost neglected so far. It would serve no end without a thorough critical literary appraisal to say that Iqbal ranks as high as Dante or Milton or for that matter as Firdausi, Rumi or Ghalib. Iqbal's place in the very forefront of Urdu and Indian-Persian poets of the sub-continent is not as secure today as it was yesterday. His poetic diction has known enormous success but mostly in the reflected glory of his philosophy and politics. His work has always shown change and growth but his admirers have not cared to make it

the subjects of their objective critical study. Would the organizers of Seminars and Symposia on Iqbal, busy wearing his philosophy and politics threadbare among themselves, and arguing whether or not he was a politician and a philosopher of Islamic ideolog, care to sit down to do a treatise on "Iqbal as a poet" or, for that matter, deviate from the path of traditional symposia to throw fresh light on Iqbal's art ?

NOTES

1. The present chapter states the rational criticism of Iqbal's art and thought. The author offers his own refutation of the criticism in the next chapter. So, chapter IV and V are to be treated as twin chapters.

2. The author rightly emphasizes that Iqbal was 'a politician and a philosopher of Islamic ideology' and that his concept of 'International Brotherhood' stemmed from this fact.

3. Other writers, who claim to have been present at the said meeting, do not corroborate Pt. J. Nehru's statement (cf. Dr. A. H. Batalvi, *Iqbal Ki Akhri Do Saal).* Same is the fate of E. Thompson's claim which follows.

4. Iqbal always described 'Pan-Islamism' as 'the political goal of the Muslim World', it is, in fact, the concept of the Muslim brotherhood and identical with the Islamic term "Ummah". It has been advocated by all the great thinkers of Islam, including Jamal-ud-Din Afghani for whom Iqbal had great respect and reverence.

5. The experiments in Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia have proved Iqbal's position that the Western form of democracy will not work in a country marked by multi-nationality, i.e. pre-partition Indo-Pak subcontinent.

6. Iqbal's position on Pan-Islamism suffices to refute the claims of Dr. M. Sadiq. He did not change his views on the subject till his last work Armughane Hidjaz *(pr. posthumously).*

7. It is doubtful if Iqbal ever changed his position on Nationalism that he should have suggested the change reported by Sh. M. Abdullah.

8. Among the genuine schools of Sufism Iqbal has commended 'Devotional Sufism' and other Activist kinds of Sufism. He condemned all forms of 'quietism', 'passivism', and those involving denial of the Self, the Universe, and Free Will.

9. In this section Prof. Azad is simply presenting the various criticism levelled against Iqbal's poetry. A refutation of the criticism follows in the next chapter.

10. One can only wonder to read Dr. Sadiq's comments that Iqbal's poetry is heavily charged with the erotic diction and imagery of ghazal'. It is no less suprising to read that 'Iqbal does not try to winnow and purify the diction that comes down to him. He takes it as he found it, and uses it without much consideration of its propriety'. He places Iqbal in the 'category of poets of low vitality'.

Iqbal is recognised both inland and outland for his use of new symbols and for assigning new meanings to traditional symbols. According to the experts, he has extended the horizons of Urdu and Persian ghazal much beyond its traditional limits. All this belies Dr. Sadiq's comments. (see Luc-Claude Maitres *Introduction to the Thought of Iqbal).*

11. S. Sinha's statement that Iqbal's poetry is "unmusical and lacking in rhythem" comes as a surprise to a big majority who are always attracted by its melody' (taghazal), flow and smoothness.

12. It seems quite unfair to Iqbal to compare him with Hali in point of "grace, beauty of language and diction".

IQBAL : HIS POETRY AND PHILOSOPHY[1]

Dr. Mohammad Iqbal was not only a great poet, he was also a great thinker. A study of his poetry, which is equally valuable for its thought content and artistic value, has many aspects–literary, social, cultural, religious, educational, political and economic as well as metaphysical.

According to S. A. Vahid "Iqbal's philosophy is essentially the philosophy of Self". Prof. Yusuf Saleem Chishti calls him a poet of Islam. Tilok Chand Mahrum describes him as a nationalist poet! In the words of Mazhar-ud-din Siddiqui, "Iqbal's was the keenest mind so far produced by the Muslims of the Indo-Pak sub-continent". Dr. Sichdanand Sinha charges him with fascist leanings, while Al-i-Ahmed Suroor calls him a socialist. Firaq Gorakhpuri refers to Iqbal as a communalist. M. R. Stepanyants says, he was a reactionary, and according to Khwaja Ghulamus-Syyadain, Iqbal was a progressive. Cantwell Smith takes an easier course and describes him both as a progressive and a reactionary. Bashir Ahmed Dar says, 'the message he delivered to us so beautifully promises to provide a great motive force for the resurrection of our society in India'. Jawaharlal Nehru writes in his book "Discovery of India" that "Iqbal was one of the early advocates of Pakistan and yet he appears to have realised its inherent danger and absurdity. .....During his last years Iqbal turned more and more towards socialism. The great progress that Soviet Russia had made attracted him.[2] Even his poetry took a different turn". And the statement given by Mr. M. A. Jinnah on Iqbal's death reads : "To me he was a friend, guide and philosopher and during the darkest

moments through which the Muslim League had to go, he stood like a rock and never flinched one single moment".

MULTI-DIMENSIONAL PERSONALITY

Can we, however, say that all these aspects, even communalism, are various facets of Iqbal's multi-dimensional personality ? Discussing a "communal Iqbal", Dr. Mohammad Din Taseer, one of Dr. Iqbal's close associates, writes in the book, entitled "Aspects of Iqbal" :

> In Europe his outlook widened and he realised the harmfulness of narrow nationalism. But internationalism as a mere abstract idea is not of much use. Its seeds should be grown in a fertile ground. "Islamic Society", he (Iqbal) writes, "is the only society which has so far proved itself a most successful opponent of the race-idea". And it was a society to whose culture he belonged body and soul. This is the secret of his "communalism". He is as communal as Homer, Dante, Milton and Kalidas, who utilize and refer frequently to gods, myths, beliefs and symbols of their various cultural and religious groups. They are not less of poets because of this.[3]

Iqbal's own views on this particular approach to life are no less revealing. In his Presidential address to the all-India Muslim League session at Allahabad in 1930, he says :

> I love the communal group, which is the source of my life and behaviour, and which has formed me, what I am, by giving me its religion, its literature, its thought, its culture and thereby recreating its whole past, as a living operative factor, in my present consciousness.

Perhaps, India has not produced a more controversial

figure in the domain of literature !

It would also be worthwhile, before discussing the issue at length, to quote Prof. Annemarie Schimmel who says :

> Mohammad Iqbal is such a many-sided personality that since his death the different aspects of his work have been treated again and again by Eastern and Western scholars; his poetical art, his philosophy and its background, the political importance of his ideas, his theological viewpoint, etc.

AN INQUISITIVE MIND

Iqbal was an amalgam of a seer, a poet and a philosopher, and had a firm belief in his fundamental purpose of life which was to ensure the happiness of man through the co-operation of mankind. In the beginning of his poetic career, as far back as 1902, he composed a poem entitled "Bachche ki Dua" (A Child's Prayer) wherein he says :

Lab pe aati hai dua ban ke tamanna meri,
Zindgi Shamma ki surat ho khudaya meri,
Dur dunya ka mire dam se andhera ho jai
Har jagah mere chamakne se ujala ho jai

[My innermost desire comes to my lips as a prayer,
O God, may my life be like a candle !
May the darkness of the world disappear through my efforts !
May every place turn into a glittering one through my glow !]

It was with this end in view that he devoted himself to art and philosophy. Philosophy for Iqbal was not a subject, but a way of studying all subjects, including religion. If philosophy as a subject is to be taken as an end in itself, Iqbal

was deadly opposed to it. He once declared: "I am afraid, I have no philosophy to teach. As a matter of fact, I hate system of philosophy nor do I trust principles and conclusions of philosophy. No man has condemned the human intellect more than I, i.e. as applied to the ultimate realities of religion. No doubt, I talk of things in which philosophers are also interested. But with me these things are matters of living experience and not of philosophical reasoning".[4] ("Eminent Musalmans", Madras, 1926).

Iqbal's philosophical approach is unique in that its progress can be measured by the kind of questions he asks rather by the success with which he answers them. His is an inquisitive mind, always in quest to solve the riddle of how and why. "Life has meaning", he feels with Browning, "to find its meaning is my meat and drink". It will not be out of place to mention here that the very last couplet in his posthumous collection of poems "Armughan-i-Hijaz" (Gift of Hejaz) is a question which reads : –

"Agar maqsood-i-kul main hun to mujh se
mawara kya hai ?
Mire hangama ha-i-nau ba nau hi ibtida kya hai ?
[Then, what is all this beyond me, if I am the
ultimate aim of the Almighty ?
What is the final limit of my ever-fresh tumults ?]

IQBAL ON NIETZSCHE

Students of philosophy and literature, who seek from Iqbal final answers to their questions, need be told that Iqbal's poetry is not for them. It is devoid of finalistic touches. It is a poetry of constant questioning, constant criticism, creating a disturbing effect on its reader, not tranqualizing.

In Iqbal we find a sharp contrast to Will Durant, according to whom, so much of our lives is meaningless, a self concealling vacillation and futility". Rather he is in full agreement on this point with Nietzsche[5] who says, "life means to us constantly to transform into light and flame all that we are or meet with".

Let this extract from Friedrich Nietzsche not lead us to misconstrue that it is Nietzsche's philosophy which finds its echo in Iqbal. There is not much common between the two, in so far as their approach to basic human values is concerned, although the outward resemblance between these prophets of modern times is striking. Iqbal's poetry and prose both make occasional references to Nietzsche. In a foot-note to one of his poems in "Payam-i-Mashriq" (Message of the East), Iqbal writes, "Nietzsche has launched a powerful attack against Christian ethics. His mind is an unbeliever, as he denies God, although in some ethical aspects his views are very close to Islam. "His heart is a believer, though his mind denies". The Holy Prophet gave a similar verdict on an Arab poet, Umayya ibn-us-Salat, "His tongue believed while his heart disbelieved".

MOSQUE OF CORDOVA

"To be a philosopher", says Thoreau, "is not merely to have subtle thought, not even to found a school, but so to live wisdom as to live according to its dictates, a life of simplicity, independence, magnanimity and truth". It is in this sense that Iqbal is a thinker, a philosopher. He has not created through the flights of his imagination pretentious philosophical bubbles, which go out bang when pricked by an analytical needle. Iqbal also gives us the feeling that philosophical problems in their relation to day-to-day life of

individuals are as urgent and interesting now as they were at man's first intellectual awakening in India, China, Greece or Middle East. These problems have neither been settled nor solved.

Contrary to early Greek philosophers, who simply stated their beliefs dogmatically, Iqbal is not contented to describe bare facts of life. He wishes to ascertain their relation to experience in general and thereby to get out its meaning and its worth. In Cordova (Spain) he sees the mosque–Le Mezquita De Cordoba–built by Abdur-Rehman III in the middle of 10th century A. D. He is exquisitely impressed and moved by the great work of fine art brought into existence by the Muslims about a thousand years back. In his attempt to ascertain the relation between the factual past and the probable future he says :

Deede-i-Anjum men hai teri zamin asman
Ah ki sadyon se hai teri faza be azan

Kaun si wadi men hai kaun si manzil men hai
Ishq-i-bala khez ka qafila-i-sakht jan

Dekh chuka almani shorish-i-islah-i-din
Jis ne na chhore kahin naqash-i-kuhan ke nishan

Harf-i-ghalat ban gai ismati-peer-i-kunisht
Aur hui fikr ki kashti-i-nazuk rawan

Chashm-i-Farancis bhi dekh chuki inqilab
Jis se digargun hua maghribiyon ka jahan

Millat-i-Rumi nayad kuhna parasti se perr
Lazzat-i-tajdeed se woh bhi hu phir jawan

Ruh-i-musalman men hai aaj wohi iztirab
Raz-i-khudai hai yeh keh nahin sakti zaban

Dekhiye is behr ki tah se uchhalta hai kiya
Gunbad-i-nilufari rang badalta hai kiya

[In the eyes of the stars your land is not less
(in stature) than the Heavens,
Alas, since ages your atmosphere has not heard
the sound of Azan.

In what valley, at what place of sojourn
Is the Love's undaunted caravan ?

It is long since now that Germany passed through
the tempest of Reformation,
Which has completely swept away traces of old ways,

Popes and their Holiness have since turned into
stories of the past
And the delicate boat of Reason has launched on
its perilous voyage.

France with open eyes has witnessed the Revolution
Which entirely over-turned the world of the West.

Italians, grown old by worshipping old things,
Have again discovered their youth led by the lure
of Rejuvenescence.

The same commotion has now seized the soul of Islam,
It is a divine secret, which the tongue cannot explain.

Let us see, what new portents spring from the
botton of the ocean

And what colour this azure vault assumes.]

This keenness to know the unknown, coupled with a desire to see the progress of human thought going a step further, keeps him always restless. The origin of this quest, however, he traces to the Holy Prophet whose constant

prayer, according to Iqbal, was: 'God grant me the knowledge of the ultimate nature of things'. It is this very prayer of the Holy Prophet that finds its echo in one of Iqbal's poems in "Zaboor-i-Ajam" (The Psalms of Persia) :

Yarab durun-i-seena dil-i-bakhabar bi deh
Dar bada nashsha ra nigaran aan nazar bi deh

[I pray thee Lord, Bestow upon me a conscious heart
in my breast !
Grant me a sight that would see intoxication in the wine.]

ISLAM AND MODERNISM

The desire to know the ultimate nature of things : Iqbal's final goal of life. In the preface to his book entitled "The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam" (notice the rebellious spirit behind the title!) he lashes out at the "later representatives" of various schools of Sufism, who, "owing to their ignorance of the modern mind, have become absolutely incapable of receiving any fresh inspiration from modern thought and experience". Dilating on the subject he goes on to say, "I have tried to meet, even though partially, this urgent demand by attempting to reconstruct Muslim religious philosophy with due regard to the philosophical traditions of Islam and the more recent development in the various domains of knowledge". In this very preface Iqbal warns the reader by giving a word of caution that "there is no such thing as finality in philosophical thinking". However, in one of his lectures entitled "The Human Ego–His Freedom and Immortality", he goes a step further when he says : "The only course open to us is to approach modern knowledge with a respectful but independent attitude and to appreciate the teachings of Islam in the light of that knowledge, even though we may be led to differ

from those who have gone before us".[6]

According to Socrates, the highest knowledge is the knowledge of good and evil. And going deep in the theory of good and eveil is the key note of Iqbal's poetry. In one of his satirical poems in Bal-i-Jibreel (Wings of Gabriel) he says, addressing God :

Agar kajrau hain anjum asman tera hai ye mera
Mujhe fikr-i-jahan kiyon ho jahan tera hai ya mera

Agar hangama ha-i-shauq se hai lamakan khali
Khata kis ki hai yarab lamakan tera hai ya mera

Use subh-i-azal inkar ki jurrat hui kiyonkar
Mujhe ialum kiya woh razdan tera hai ya mera

Isi kaukab ki tabani se hai tera jahan raushan
Zawal-i-Adam-i-khaki ziyan tera hai ya mera?"

[The stars have taken a wrong course, but whom do the Heavens belong to ?
Why should I worry on account of the Universe ? Is the Universe yours or mine ?

If the non-space is devoid of inner tumults
Whose fault is this O Lord, Yours or mine ?

How was he (Satan) encouraged to say 'No' on the morning of Eternity ?
How am I to know if he is your knower of the secrets or mine ?

Your universe is shining bright with the light of this vary stat;
Is the fall of dust-made Adam a loss for You or me ?]

And again in "Armughan-i-Hijaz" (The Gift of Hejaz) :

Chi Goyam nukta-i-zisht-o-niko chist

Zaban larzad ki mani pechdarast

Burun az shakh bini khar-o-gul ra
Darun-i-o na gul paida na kharast

[What shall I say—what is the theory of good and evil ?

The expression trembles as it is a knotty question.

You see the thorn and the flower over the twig
While inside the twig there is neither of the two.]

Or

Tundi-i-bad-i-mukhalif se na ghabra ai uqab
Yeh to chalti hai tujhe uncha uraane ke liye

[O Eagle, do not be afraid of the fiercely opposing winds,
For this is blowing to raise thee higher and higher.]

Iqbal's attempts to discern between what is good and what is evil constitute a landmark in Urdu and Indian Persian poetry. He has also dilated on the subject in his prose works with an objective not so much to arrive at a philosophical conclusion as to bring comfort and solace to anxious human spirit. "Man", according to Iqbal, "marches always onward to receive ever fresh illuminations from an Infinite Reality, which every moment appears in a new glory. And the recipient of Divine illumination is not merely passive recipient. Every act of a free ego creates a new situation, and thus offers further opportunities of creative unfolding".

ART AND THOUGHT

Iqbal's poetry, as has been stated above, is as remarkable for its thought-content as for its artistic value. His deep thoughts are culmination of his most exquisite emotions. What is actually new and thus more important in Iqbal's verse, as compared with the Urdu and Indian Persian poetry

of the past, is that it has not only been a reflection of his times, but also of a new attitude of the poet towards his surroundings. In Iqbal's compositions, for the first time in the history of the Urdu poetry, as also in Persian poetry in the sub-continent, the gap between the art and the people has disappeared to a great extent. While in the poetry of pre-Iqbal period, realism frequently came into contradiction with the poet's world outlook, Iqbal acquired a world outlook which had enabled him freely and unfetteredly to reflect the truth of life.

According to some of Iqbal's critics, Iqbal is a great poet but not a significant philosopher. Here I would like to emphasize that it is not correct to study Iqbal's thought as something different from his emotions. Iqbal-the-poet and Iqbal-the-thinker are not two different personalities, and we can appreciate his poetry only in the light of his thought. According to Coleridge, it is great thought-content that lends greatness to art, and this aptly applies to Iqbal.[7]

In the galaxy of Urdu poets Iqbal occupies a unique position, not because of the formal or technical superiority of his poetry, but because of its overpowering thought-content and the cosmic sweep of its canvass. Without abandoning the artistic quality and beauty of diction of Urdu poetry, Iqbal endeavoured to relate it to the inner contradictions and external conflicts with which human mind and spirit were struggling in his period. He used poetry as an effective medium to express man's unending resolve for self-assertion and his courage to explore secrets of the universe and to conquer new horizons. It is the compelling vigour, and the burning emotional drive, which singles him out as the tallest poet among contemporaries.[8]

ART FOR LIFE

Iqbal upheld the view that all fine arts--and his own poetry stood up to this test--should be imbued with a spirit that includes the cognition of life, and an active influence upon life, a feature that places the artist in the forefront of the people, in the vanguard of the eternal struggle for progress and freedom. And this principle has opened up to Urdu writers and poets vistas that were beyond their comprehension, till the turn over of the last century. Describing his attitude towards art, Iqbal writes in "Bal-i-Jabreel".

Ai ehl-i-nazar zauq-i-nazar khub hai laikin
Jo shai ki haqiqat ko na dekhe woh nazar kya

Maqsud-i-hunar soz-i-hayat-i-abadi hai
Yeh ek nafas ya do nafas misl-i-sharar kya

Be mujizah dunya men ubharti nahin quamen
Jo zarb-i-Kaleemi nahin rakhta woh hunar kya.

[O discerning ones, thirst for knowledge is welcome
But what is the art that fails to grasp the reality of
things ?

The object of all art is to attain warmth of life immortal
What good is existence for a breath or two like a spark ?

Without a miracle nations cannot rise
What is art without the striking power of Mose's staff ?]

(Translation by S. A. Vahid)

This innovatory quality of Iqbal's verse in the development of art has shown itself first and foremost in the fact that it has developed and brought to the fore positive human characters. Iqbal perceives in the people a latent beauty, a

strength and a herosim that excels anything known to the art of Urdu poet of the past. For Iqbal, are is not only a part of mainstream of life, but also an active agent of change.[9]

The limited vocabulary of Urdu lyric, panagyric and elegy was too inadequate for this purpose, but the master craftsman in Iqbal imparted new flexibility to the traditional symbols and fresh adaptability to the idiom, borrowing freely from the rich heritage of both Sanskrit and Persian on the one hand, and European literatures on the other. In the process Urdu literature acquired new vitality and a universality of outlook, seldom noticed in poets of smaller calibre.[10]

DAWN OF A NEW ERA

The poet feels that a new era is about to unfold itself and a new type of man is in the making. His verses on the subject of greatness of man are a promise, a prophecy, a demand prestned to the immediate future. In one of his charming ghazals in "Zabur-i-Ajam" and later reproduced under the title of "song of the Angels" in "Javed Namah" this demand grows even more insistent and incisive :–

Farogh-i-Khakyan an nurian afzun shawad ruze
Zamin az kaukab-i-taqdeer-i-ma gardun shawad ruze

Khayal-i-ma ku u ra parvarish dodand tufanha
zi girdab-i-sipihr-i-nilgun berun shawad ruze

Yake dar mani-i-Adam nigar az man chi me pursi
Hanuz andar tabiat me khalad mauzun shawad ruze

Chunan mauzun shawad in peshra uftada mazmune
Ki Yazdan ra dil az taṣir-i-u pur khum shavad ruze

[Brighter shall shine men's clay
Than angels' light, one day;

Earth through our destiny
Turns to a starry sky.

The fancies in our head
That upon storms were fed
One day shall soar, and clear
The whirlpool of the sphere.

Why askest thou of me ?
Consider man, and see
How mind, developed still,
Sublime this subject will.

Come fashioned forth, sublime,
this common thought, in time,
And with its beauty's rapture
Even God's heart shall capture.

(Translation by A. J. Arberry)

This prediction even in its purely literary sense very soon came true, though the poet himself was not there to see it. Baby moons and satellites were launched in the space in quick succession followed by man's landing on the moon.

An unparallelled ability to react swiftly to the spirit of the modern age displayed by Iqbal's poetry is something exceedingly remarkable. The stirring march of time in Europe, Asia and Africa provided Iqbal with fresh sources of inspiration, and induced him indirectly to reflect in his works the profound changes that took place in the world. He did not only register the brisk tempo of life, but also translated it into the language of art. He also reacted to events still in the making through the medium of poetry of an exceedingly high order. The very fact that Iqbal is able to feel the pulse of time, its enthusiasm and its problems, is a patent proof of the existence of his close and organic ties with his sur-

roundings.

Iqbal's poetry has a universal appeal mainly because there is political wisdom and a calm optimism in all his poems.[11] His strength, like Goethe's, lies in the fact that he is not only a teacher or a thinker but also, and chiefly, a prophet of humanity. One fact which we must bear in mind is that in Iqbal the two powerful impulses to artistic expression are his faith in the human capacity for limitless development and man's unique position in the universe. Both these impulses tend to make the appeal of his poetry universal.

A brief survey of topics, dealt with by Iqbal is sufficient to show the immensity of the living material tackled by him. It gives an idea of the complex and unprecedented literary problems facing Iqbal. His poems entitled "At Napoleon's Tomb", "Mussolini", "League of Nations", "Tolstoy", "Karl Marx", "Nietzsche", "Lenin and Kaiser William", "Socialism", "Voice of Karl Marx", "Europe and Jews", "Bolshevik Russias", "East", "Abyseenia" and "Syria and Palestine" are an expression of the keen searchings that Iqbal had embarked on and which were dictated by the desire to find new art-forms worthy of the new content. These poems, not only expanded the thematic borders of poetry, but also increased the range of its means of expression.[12]

Again, notice the wast range of his poetry–his subjects include, in addition to those mentioned above "a cat in a girl's arms," "a mother's dream," "Himalayas," "morning," "graveyard," "Shakespear", "ghalib," "a mother's dream", "sun", "candle," "candle", "withered flower," "love and death", "clud," "historical buildings in Cordova" and so on. Having sung of every conceivable subject on this planet, he, in *Javid Namah*, soars to other planets. This vast range needs versatility in poetic art, and Iqbal's is immense.

It is highly characteristic that problems of life, ethics and norms of behaviour, which in classical Urdu literature and still more in poetry, had not been treated, stemmed in Iqbal's poetry directly from its close association with surroundings.

INDIVIDUAL AND THE PEOPLE

Iqbal shows his readers the new values born of the post-World War–I era. He describes, not only the birth of the new world but the resistance of the old, tells us the story not only of individual fates but tries to put his finger on the pulse of history and shows the links between the fate of the individual and that of the people.

At the very root of Iqbal's realism lies an aspiration to depict life in motion, and in its continuous development to show the march of life against the background of a broad historical perspective. This has provided favourable conditions for a realistic recreation of the past, all the more so since in this field, too, Iqbal has been able to base his work on the great traditions of classical realism. In this field, Iqbal has based his work on the assumption that the process of historical development should be understood, not as a movement in a circle, but as an onward and upward movement. It is this approach to history which enables Iqbal not to varnish or modernise the past, but to recreate it poetically.[13] For him, the glory of the past lies not in a picturesque depiction of its details, but in the forward movement that has determined the historical fate of mankind. Thus, for instance, his "Masjid-i-Qurtaba" (The Cordova Mosque) was inspired by stormy days of great historical changes that highlighted this important period in the history of Europe.

Taken in their sum, the varied and various works of

Iqbal present a poetical picture of the people which can be seen nowhere else in Urdu or Indian Persian literature.

By its example Iqbal's poetry has reminded the writers of the sub-continent, and particularly its Urdu writers, that great art is unthinkable without a faithful portrayal of life. At the same time, it has shown in practice that genuine realism in art is inimical towards a petty and idea less copyist naturalism.

With Urdu poets of pre-Iqbal times, the artistic embodiment of the ideal in art often acquired a shade of abstractness, of the declarative, often bordering on the fantastic. The blending of the romantic and the realistic, the roots of which go back to the classics, has reached fruition in Iqbal's poetry. Armed with a progressive world outlook, Iqbal, whose poetry has been a worthy reflection of great historical changes, has shown the younger generation of Urdu poets how to weld into a single whole the beauty of ideals of art and the truth of actual life.

NOTES

1. This chapter is a protraction of the last one. In it the author offers a refutation of some of the critics of Iqbal's poetry discussed in the last chapter.

2. Whether Iqbal turned towards Socialism during his closing years, as stated by, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, is not fully established, and the onus probandi lies on the advocates of this view. However, he looked towards the progress of Russia with some interest as he urged that 'the new economic experiment tried in the neighbourhood of Muslim Asia, must open our eyes to the inner meaning and destiny of Islam'–*The Reconstruction.*

3. Iqbal was a 'Communalist' in the sense of Islamic 'internationalism' which is as wide as humanity itself.

4. Philosophy to Iqbal was not a name for system-building, it was rather a 'living experience' than a mere net of abtruse reasoning. This is why he condemned Hegel.

5. Iqbal always appreciated Nietzche's Activist views of thought and life.

6. Iqbal did not believe in 'authority' in religion. A Muslim should always keep his eye open.

7. This statement is very cogent in the case of Iqbal. As he says in

مری نوائے پریشاں کو شاعری نہ سمجھ
کہ میں ہوں محرم راز درونِ میخانہ

8. In this connection I quote Sir Herbert Read, a renowned English literary critic, who admitted in his article "Readers and Writers" *(The New Age*, Aug. 25, 1921) that Iqbal was the only living poet who mopped up to Whitman's critical ideal of workability.

9. Iqbal writes in his Foreword to "Muraqqa-i-Chughtai", "All that I can say is that I look upon Art as subservient to life and personality".

10. What a befitting reply to Iqbal's so-called critics discussed in the last chapter.

11. The Universal appeal of his poetry is not so much due to his 'political wisdom and a calm optimism': it is rather because of imbibing those universal ideals and values which Islam teaches and which form the very foundation of his thought.

12. 'Iqbal has worked a veritable revolution in the lyrical poetry of his age which tended to confine itself within a very narrow domain and was limited to the expression of a few eternal sentiments, always in the same manner. He has considerably broadened its horizon by introducing in it hitherto unknown subjects treated in a language both rich and varied'—Luce-Claude Maitre, *Introduction to the Thought of Iqbal*, Eng. tr. Mulla Abdul Majid Dar.

13. The author has beautifully explained Iqbal's creative poetical genius.

IQBAL, SCHOPENHAUER AND THE QURAN[1]

In "Payam-i-Mashriq" (Message of the East) which Iqbal vrote in reply to one of Goethe's collection of poems, one comes across a prominent reference to Schopenhauer in sharp contrast to Nietzsche wherein in Iqbal say.

Murghe zi ashiana ba sair-e-chaman pareed
Khare zi shakh-i-gul ba tan-i-nazukash khaleed
Bad guft fitrat-e-chaman-i-rooz gar ra
Az dard-i-kheesh o ham zi gham-e-deegran tapeed
Dagh-e-zi khun-i-begunahe lala ra shamurd
Andar tilism-i-ghuncha fareb-i-bahar deed
Guft andareen sara ki binayash fitadah kaj
Subhe kuja ki charkh daru shamaha na cheed
Naleed ta be hausala-e-aan nawa taraz
Khun gasht naghma o zi do chashmash frio chakeed
Soz-e-fughan-i-u ba dil-i-hudhude giraft
Ba nok-i-kheesh khar zi andam-i-u kasheed
Guftash ki sud-i-kheesh zi jeb-e-zian bar ar
Gul az shigaf-i-seena zar-i-naab afreed
Darman zi dard saz agar khasta tan shavi
Khugar ba khar shau ki sarapa chaman shawi

[A bird flew from his nest to have a view of the garden;
A thorn from a twig pricked his delicate body.
He denounced the entire nature of the world's garden;
His own pain as well as the pain of others made him cry
Tulip he regarded just a stain of blood of an innocent one;
In a bud he visualised the entire sorcery of spring.
He said: in this age-long abode the very foundation of
which is laid defective,
There is no morning which does not turn into an evening.
He bitterly wept till ultimately

His music turned into blood and dropped from his
two eyes.
His bewailings found their way in the heart of a hoopoe,
Who with the help of his beak pulled out the thorn
from his body.
He said: "Try to see the gain in the midst of loss;
A flower creates its own gold by casting asunder its
breast.
Create your remedy from your agony if you are
wounded and weary;
Be acclimatised to a thorn so that you develop the
qualities of a graden"]

In this allegorical poem, Iqbal describes Schopenhauer as a philosopher with extremely pessimistic views, the remedy of whose ills lies in Nietzsche's healthy outlook. In simple words the poem means :–

> Schopenhauer, when he noticed that the world was full of sorrow, arrived at the conclusion that the world was an abode of evil and every beautiful aspect of the creation, particularly woman, was some sort of deception.
>
> Here Nietzsche comes to his rescue with a clear-cut contradiction of his views and impresses upon him that life is a struggle for existence with perpetual march of ego.

Iqbal's approbation of Nietzsche, as opposed to Schopenhauer, is not difficult to appreciate. "Nietzsche", says Oskar Walzel, "refutes Schopenhauer's pessimism and sets forth optimistically to set the will free. The one seeks morality in the denial, the other in the affirmation of the being of the world. The one demands weakness of will, the other demands strength of will". For Iqbal, Nietzsche's doctrine of

Eternal Recurrence is "one positive view of immortality" in the history of modern thought. Although according to Iqbal himself, the idea of Eternal Recurrence "occurred to several minds about the time when it came to Nietzsche like a poetic inspiration, and the germs of it are also found in Herbert Spencer", but Nietzsche, whom Iqbal describes as a "modern prophet" was attracted to it by the power of the ideal rather than its logical demonstration. In the words of Iqbal, "Nietzsche has given his doctrine the form of a reasoned out theory". And again: "His (Nietzsche's) mental history is not without a parallel in the history of Eastern Sufism,". Obviously, Iqbal here refers to the more genuine schools of Sufism, who "have done good work in shaping and directing the evolution of religious experience in Islam", and not to their later-day representatives who, "owing to their ignorance of the modern mind, have become absolutely incapable of receiving any fresh inspiration from modern thought and experience". Schopenhauer denies the freedom of Will, thoug he uses it in much wider sense than commonly employed. Will, for Schopenhauer stands both for conscious desire and for unconscious instinct. He also includes the forces of inorganic nature in the ambit of Will. But he regards will as a blind force. Iqbal, who gives a message of hope and action, has a firm faith in the unending struggle exhibited by the world process. For Iqbal this struggle has a moral purpose—a point on which he parts company even with Nietzsche. Discussing the issue if 'religion is possible', Iqbal says, Nietzsche was a failure and attributes his failure mainly "to his intellectual progenitors such as Schopenhauer, Darwin and Lange". Obviously, in spite of being impressed by the philosophy of Nietzsche, whom he describes as a believer in heart and a disbeliever by intellect, Iqbal cannot subscribe to a number of aspects of his philosophy. Nietzsche, after ringing the

death-knell of religion, prophesies for man a higher state of existence. Iqbal does not own this view. As for Superman, Nietzsche says, "God is dead: Now let us live that superman may live".[2] But now different is Iqbal's human being:

Tane paida kun az mushte ghubare,
Tane mohkam tar az sangeen hisare
Durun-e-u-dil-i-dard ashnae
Chu jue dar kanar-e-kohsare
[Create a physique from handful of dust;
Create a physique, stronger than a stone-built fort.
And in this physique should be a heart full of pity
and compassion
Like a stream flowing by the side of a mountain.]

No doubt, we do come across a striking similarity in some basic concepts of Nietzsche and Schopenhauer. For instance, according to both, the will to live is the source of life. But on this point they meet only to differ as, contrary to Nietzsche's optimisitc view of life, Schopenhauer describes life as a mere effort to continue to exist. The glory and desirability of a meaningful strife so dear to Iqbal is unknown to Schopenhauer, who advises a quiet, monotonous, hermit life.

But is it the whole truth to describe Schopenhauer as a pessimist philosopher?

In 1818, when Hegel's philosophy was at the zenith of its glory in Germany, Schopenhauer made a frontal attack on it saying:

> These gentlemen desire to live, and indeed to live by philosophy. To philosophy they are assigned with their wives and children. . . . .The rule, "I . . sing the song of him whose bread I eat" has always held good; the making of money by philosophy

> was regarded by the ancients as the characteristic of Sophists. . . . . . Nothing is to be had for gold but mediocrity. . . . . . Life is short, but truth works far and lives long. Let us speak the truth.

The tone exhibits, not only love for truth, but also love for life. This scathing criticism of Hegel by Schopenhauer is, by no stretch of imagination, a pessimistic approach to life. True, the expression does not prove him to be an optimist either. And Schopenhauer is neither a pessimist nor an optimist, he is a meliorist.[3]

I won't agree with Will Durant, who describes "The World as Will and Idea" as a great anthology of woe, though I won't dispute his assertion that Schopenhauer made the fatal mistake of supposing that the Will can act only blindly; but would only quote, Dr. Sisir Kumar Maitra in whose words, "Schopenhauer did great service to philosophy by drawing attention to importance of the recognition of the Will factor in world evolution". Schopenhauer himself says in "Counsels and Maxims", "To overcome difficulties is to experience the full delight of existence". How strikingly similar to these views runs Iqbal's couplet:

Mumkinat-i-quwwat-i-mardan-i-kar
Garded az mushkil pasandi ashkar

[The ultimate possibilities to be achieved by the strength of men of action
Are revealed only through their confrontation with difficulties.]

Discussing the teachings of the Holy Quran in one of his lectures entitled "The conception of God and the meaning of Prayer", Iqbal again makes a reference to Schopenhauer and says: "To the optimist Browningall is well with the word; to

the pessimist Schopenhauer the world is one perpetual winter wherein a blind Will expresses itself in an infinite variety of living things which bemoan their emergence for a moment and then disappear for ever. The issue thus raised between optimism and pessimism cannot be finally decided at the present stage of our knowledge of the universe. Our intellectual constitution is such that one can take only a piecemeal view of things. We cannot understand the full import of the great cosmic forces which work havoc, and at the same time sustain and amplify life. The teaching of the Quran which believes in the possiblity of improvement in the behaviour of man and his control over natural forces, is neither optimism nor pessimism. It is meliorism, which recognises a growing universe and is animated by the hope of man's eventual victory over evil".

Here Iqbal, perhaps, ignores an important point with regard to Schopenhauer and that is Schopenhauer's approbation of Kant's philosophy, which, according to him, is "the most important phenomenon that has appeared in philosophy for two thousand years". Again, an identical approach with that of Iqbal who referring to Kant says, "And justly has he been described as God's greatest gift to his country".[1] Arthur Schopenhauer, a multi-dimensional personality, while describing the course of man's life "as necessarily pre-determined as the course of a clock", says that "a man can surely do what he wills to do, but he cannot determine what he Wills". This idealism of Schopenhauer which is voluntaristic in nature, completely differentiates him from Hegel, whose voluntarism is rationalistic, or from Schelling who is a representative of affective voluntarism, a point, perhaps, not taken notice of by Iqbal. The question therefore, is: Are we justified in calling a philosopher pessi-

mist who lays down the condition that for a proper understanding of his book an acquaintance with the works of Kant is a must? And, then, to what extent can we allow ourselves to go to ignore completely the influence of Indian thought, especially the thought of Upnishadas on his life ? It would be worthwhile to quote Schopenhauer's acknowledgement of this influence in his own memorable words : –

> And if, indeed, in addition to this, he is a partaker of the benefit conferred by the Vedas, the access to which opened to us through Upnishadas is in my eyes the greatest advantage which this still young century enjoys over previous ones, because I believe that the influence of the Sanskrit literature will penetrate no less deeply than did the revival of Greek literature in the fifteenth century , If, I say, the reader has also received and assimilated the sacred, primitive Indian wisdom, then is he best of all prepared to hear what I have to say to him.... In the whole world there is no study.......so elevating as that of the Upnishadas. It has been the solace of my life, it will be the solace of my death.
>
> (Preface to "The World as Will and Idea"–Translation by Haldane and Kemp).

It would not be overstressing a point to say that the teachings of Upnishadas, mentioned with such a high sense of reverence by Arthur Schopenhauer, are the same meliorism, which, according to Iqbal, is the crux of the teachings of the Holy Quran. In the words of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, the central theme of Upnishas" is the search for what is true". And again: "The Upnishadas do not content themselves with mercy emphasising the spirit of true religion. They also give us a code of duties, without which the moral ideal will

be an uncertain guide". This is fundamentally the same as Iqbal's assertion on meliorism in respect of the teachings of the Holy Quran.

* * * * *

NOTES

1. See also Appendix 'B'; Letter - III on Farhat Ullah Khan's position on Iqbal, Schopenhauer and Nietzsche.

2. Iqbal's concept of 'Mard-i-Momin' is fundamentally different from Nietzsche's 'Superman' in many ways: (i) Iqbal's 'Mard-i-Momin' is God-fearing betraying a beautiful blend of 'Jamal' (Beauty) and 'Jalal' (Power), while Nietzsche's 'Superman' was 'godless' and devoid of spirituality; (ii) Iqbal's symbol is 'eagle' which stands for lofty ideals, and constant action and struggle to achieve them; Nietzsche's symbols were 'hawk' and 'serpent' which represent the qualities of brute force, sadism and malice; (iii) Iqbal's ideals are moral and spiritual, whereas Nietzsche's main philosophy is materialistic.

   Meliorism is 'the belief or doctrine that the world tends to be better and that man has the power to aids its betterment', that 'the world is neither good nor evil, but can be improved (cf. Webster's Third New International Dictionary). Now, in this sense Schopenhauer can hardly be called a 'meliorist'.

IQBAL, ISLAM AND THE MODERN AGE

Iqbal's six lectures undertaken at the request of the Madras Muslim Association and delivered at Madras, Mysore, Hyderabad and Aligarh in 1928 and 1929 and later brought out with an additional lecture in the form of a book entitled *"The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam"* occupy a unique place in the world library of philosophical thought. The importance Iqbal attached to this book is evident from the following anecdote given by Prof. M. S. Sharif in his book *"About Iqbal and His Thought"*, wherein he says :

> In my reading of "Asrar-Khudi" and Rumuz-i-Bekhudi, I felt that on one or two places, which I cannot now recall, I came across some contradictory ideas. I availed myself of the opportunity of taking up these topics with him. He tenderly smiled and observed : "My dear Sharif, Asrar and Rumuz are poetic works and not books of philosophy".

What Iqbal meant to say was that for an elaborate ideological exposition of his views, a student of his art and thought should not confine his study only to his poetical works but should also delue deep into some of his other writings. Obviously, these writings are the *"Development of metaphysics in Persia"* and the seven lectures contained in "The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam".

Again, Iqbal referring to these lectures in *"Javed Nama"* says : –

Man ba taba-i-asr-i-khud guftam do harf
Karda am behrain ra andar do zarf
Harf-i-pecha pech-o-harf-e-neshdar
Ta kunam aql-o-dil-e-mardan shikar'
Harf-i-tahdare ba andaz-i-farang
Nala-e-mastana-i-az tar-i-chang
Ta Mizaj-i-asr-i-man deegar fitad
Taba-i-man hangama-i-deegar nihad

[I spoke two words to the nature of my age.
I have encompassed the two oceans in two vessels–
A knotty expression, and an expression with a sting,
So that I take in my noose both the heart and the
mind of the people.
An expression deep after the style of Europe;
The other, a wail of acstasy from the chord of a harp.
As the temperament of my age is different from the
previous ones,
My nature created a different tumult]

In this couplets, Iqbal draws a line between his poetical works and prose works describing the former one as a "wail of ecstasy", and the latter one as "with a sting" and "a knotty expression after the style of Europe" or, for that matter, European philosophy.

PHILOSOPHY AND IQBAL

Before attempting to discuss Iqbal's approach to the philosophy of Islam as manifest through his poetical and prose works, it would be worthwhile to understand his conception of philosophy in general.

Like his predecessors in the domain of thought in India, philosophy for Iqbal is not a mere theory but a life in practice. In this regard, he is in line with the Indian philosophers,

whether they belong to the days of Vedas or to the later periods in history. For him,philosophy is not only an attempt to conceive the world logically and remain satisfied with the formulation of barren theories about it, but a sincere endeavour to see the truth, face to face, by the inner concentration of man, to contemplate the ultimate reality including the world and even beyond.

Iqbal has endeavoured to approach the reality with a harmonious attitude of mind in which logic has been utilised to check wanton contemplation,and the visualising of potentiality of mind has been charged with the force of a passionate will. Philosophy for Iqbal is not a subject,but a way of studying all subjects, including religion.[1] He is deadly opposed to philosophy being taken as a subject. In this connection he emphatically says : "I am afraid, I have no philosophy to teach. As a matter of fact,I hate systems of philosophy, nor do I trust principles and conclusions of philosophy. No man has condemned the human intellect more than I i.e. as applied to the ultimate realities of religion. No doubt I talk of things in which philosophers are also interested. But with me these things are matters of living experience and not of philosophical reasoning". ("*Eminent Musalmans*", Madras, 1926). In "Bal-i-Jibreel"he describes philosphy as something "keeping you away from life" and in "Payam-i-Mashriq":–

"More the intellect opens its wings to sc...
more in bondage it finds itself".

However, all this does not detract even an inch from his greatness as a philosopher. He has in his system of thought represented a synthetic and balanced approach to the two tendencies–'know in order to believe' and 'believe in order

to know'. According to Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, "Indian philosophy has its interest in the haunts of men and not in the supra–lunar solitudes. It takes its origin in life and enters back into life after passing through the schools". Says Heinrich Zimmer in his book "*Philosophies of India*": The chief aim of Indian thought is to unveil and integrate into consciousness what has been thus resisted and hidden by the forces of life–not to explore and describe the visible world". This aptly applies to Iqbal in respect of his approach to philosophy. The supreme and characteristic achievement of Iqbal's mind is its discovery of the Self, as an independent, imperishable entity, underlying the conscious personality and bodily frame. Iqbal's philosophy is close to life, and, therefore, does not merely seek to quench intellectual thirst. It has a higher and profounder aim in view i.e. to tackle the ultimate problems of life. It is born and bred in life. His works are not divorced from human life; rather they are mirrors in which one sees the human life's ideals and feelings.

Thus inspite of what he observes about philosophy as a subject, he attaches highest importance to the process of thought. Nothing pains him more than to notice that "during the last five hundred years religious thought in Islam has been practically stationery". Stressing the point that there was a time when "European thought received inspiration from the world of Islam, he refers to "the enormous rapidity with which the world of Islam is spiritually moving towards the West as the most remarkable phenomenon of the modern history". Moreover, Iqbal sees nothing wrong in this movement for, according to him, "European culture, on its intellectual side, is only a further development of some of the most important phases of the culture of Islam".[2] His only "fear is that the dazzling exterior of European culture

may arrest our movement, and we may fail to reach the true inwardness of that culture". It is this unquenched thirst for quest that is the key-note of Iqbal's system of thought. In *"Javed Nama"*, he gives a hint of it, though in a different context : –

Maqsad-i-qaum-e-Farang amad baland
Az pae lal-o-guhar gore nahand
Sarguzasht-e-Misr-o-Firaon-o-kaleem
Me tawan deedan zi aasar-i-qadeem
Ilm-o-hikmat kashf-o-Asrar ast-o-bas
Hikmat-e-be-justujoo khwar ast o bas

[The Europeans have a lofty purpose in view;
They did not dig the graves only to have the precious stones.

The knowledge of the story of Egypt, Pharaoh and Moses
Can be revealed through the old ruins.
Knowledge is nothing but a constant quest to unfold the mysteries;
Wisdom without an effort to search is base and worthless.]

And again, since the Middle Ages, when the schools of Muslim theology were completed, "infinite advance has taken place in the domain of human thought and expressions". Iqbal is conscious of the fact that it is only by keeping pace with the human thought and experience, resulting in the discoveries in the physical and the metaphysical world, that Islam can continue to be a living force. It is with this background that Iqbal made his laudable attempt to reconstruct Islamic thought with due regard to past traditions, in a progressive world order.

RATIONAL FOUNDATION IN ISLAM

A remarkable aspect of the modern age is that a wave of renaissance is passing all over the East, particularly the Muslim world, and the influence of Western materialism is clearly visible on the Eastern mind. Wilfred Cantwell Smith traces it back to the early nineteenth century. Dilating on the subject in his thought-provoking book "Modern Islam in India and Pakistan"[2], he argues : "The first major development in Islamic modernism, therefore, and the point at which we begin our study, was the working out of a liberal Islam compatible with the nineteenth-century West, similar to it in general outlook, and, especially in harmony with its science, its business method, and its humanitarianism.[3] This was done by separating out principles from the letter of the law, and attending to them only, disengaging the religion from its feudal manifestation and especially from the corruptions of the recent decadence; repudiating from Islam, as later accretions or misrepresentations, all that prohibited or ran counter to Western bourgeois principles; and stressing while the similarity of the fundamentals of all religions, specifically Islam and Christianity."[4] Above all there was a change of attitude; a this-wordly, dynamic approach that was new. The outstanding figure in connection with this movement is Sir Syyed Ahmad Khan with his liberal Aligarh School in the later part of the last Century". Dilating on the subject W. C. Smith says : "The recent progressive phase of Islamic modernism has appealed to those who look to the future rather than to either the present or the past". Conclusively according to him, "The outstanding figure in both movements is Sir Mohammad Iqbal. At the level of idea, the two movements have been in many respects aspects of one attitude".

However, Iqbal in his attempt to reconstruct religious thought in Islam, traces the secret for rational foundations in Islam to the words and deeds of the Holy Prophet. In the words of Iqbal, the Prophet's constant prayer was : 'God! grant me knowledge of the ultimate nature of things.' It is this prayer of the Holy Prophet that finds its echo in Iqbal's prayer in "Zabur-i-Ajam" :–

Yarab durun-i-seena dil-i-bakhabar bideh
Dar bada nashsha ra nigaram an nazar bideh

[O Lord, I pray thee; bestow upon me a conscious
heart in my breast.
Grant me a sight that would see intoxication in wine.]

Discussing further the question of search for rational foundations in Islam Iqbal says , "The work of later mystics and non-mystic rationalists forms an exceedingly instructive chapter in the history of our culture, in as much as it reveals a longing for a coherent system of ideas, a spirit of whole-hearted devotion to truth, as well as the limitations of the age, which rendered the various theological movements in Islam less fruitful than they might have been in a different age. As we all know, Greek philosophy has been a great cultural force in the history of Islam. Yet a careful study of the Quran and the various schools of scholastic theology that arose under the inspiration of Greek thought disclose the remarkable fact that, while Greek philosophy very much broadened the outlook of Muslim thinkers, it, on the whole, obscured their vision of the Quran. Socrates concentrated his attention on the human world alone. To him the proper study of man was man, and not the world of plants, insects and stars. How unlike the spirit of the Quran, which sees in the humble bee a recipient of Divine inspiration and con-

stantly calls upon the reader to observe the perpetual change of the winds, the alternation of day and night, the clouds, the stormy heavens, and the planets swimming through infinite space. As a true disciple of Socrates, Plato despised sense–perception which, in his view, yielded mere opinions and no real knowledge. How unlike the Quran, which regards 'hearing' and 'sight' as the most valuable Divine gifts and declares them to be accountable to God for their activity in this world. This is what the earlier Muslim students of the Quran completely missed under the spell of classical speculation. They read the Quran in the light of Greek thought. It took them over 200 years to perceive–though not quite clearly–that the spirit of the Quran was essentially anti-classical, and the result of this perception was a kind of intellectual revolt, the full significance of which has not been realized even upto the present day".

My apologies for this lengthy extract. But it was essential to present Iqbal's views on rationalism in Islam as understood by him. Actually all his seven lectures are a consistent effort on the part of the writer to re-interpret Islam in the present-day context.

A PROPHET OF CHANGE

Iqbal's main source of inspiration as a poet and a philosopher are the teachings of Islam and the life of the Holy Prophet. The preface to "The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam" begins with the assertion "The Quran is a book which emphasizes "deed" rather than "idea". And Iqbal feels that in order to keep pace with the modern times the teachings of the Holy Quran, as a living

force, are to be projected in the light of modern thought. Elucidating his standpoint on this issue he says, "Most of my life has been spent in the study of European philosophy and that view-point has become my second nature. Consciously or unconsciously I study the realities and truths of Islam from the same point of view". It is with this purpose in view that he undertook to write his seven lectures. Referring to the idea of this book, Iqbal, in a letter dated September 2, 1925 to Sufi Ghulam Mustafa Tabassum, stated that he would like to call this book "Islam as I understand it", because in the words of Dr. Mohammad Din Taseer "it was to be the statement of his personal views" on Islam. And about his personal views on his religion in so far as "receiving any fresh inspiration from modern thought and experience" is concerned, how modestly he says : "I have tried to meet, even though partially, this urgent demand by attempting to reconstruct Muslim religious philosophy with due regard to the philosophical traditions of Islam and the more recent demand in the various domains of human knowledge. And the present movement is quite favourable for such an undertaking". However, at this stage he does not forget to sound a note of caution when he says: "It must, however, be remembered that there is no such thing as finality in philosophical thinking. As knowledge advances and fresh avenues of thought are opened, other views and probably sounder views than those set forth in these lectures, are possible. Our duty is carefully to watch the progress of human thought, and to maintain an independent critical attitude towards it".[5] These are the urges of an open mind, a searching mind, a mind throbbing with a zest for quest.

Iqbal has a firm faith in perpetual change. A static mind or a static society is un-imaginable for him. According to

him, constant human endeavour and constant change go hand in hand. For him, movement as true change is the fundamental reality. Even as far back as 1904, he upheld this view. In his delightful poem, "Kanar-i-Ravi" (On the Bank of Ravi) he says :

Ravan hai seena-i-darya pe ik safeena-i-tez
Hua hai mauj se mallah jis ka garm-i-satez
Subuk ravi men hai misl-i-nigah yeh kashti
Nikal ke halqa-i-hadd-e-nazar se dur gai
Jahaz-i-zindgi-i-admi ravan hai yunhi
Abad ke bahr men paida yunhi nihan hai yunhi
Shikast se yeh kabbi ashna nahin hota
Nazar se chhupta hai lekin fana naheen hota

[A fast moving boat is on its run on the breast of the river;
The boatman is in confrontation with the rushing wave.
The boat, in swiftness, is like the eye-sight –
In a moment it disappeared from our view.
The vessel of the life of man is also on the move like this –
It appears and disappears exactly like this in the ocean of eternity;
It never suffers a defeat (at the hands of death)
It gets away from the sight but never fades into non-existance.]

And again, in another charming poem in the form of a dialogue, "Chand Aur Tare" (The Moon and the Stars) :

Darte Darte dam-e-sahar se
Tare kehne lage qamar se
Nazzare wuhi rahe falak par
Ham thak bhi gaye chamak chamak Kar

Kam apna hai subh-o-sham chalna
Chalna chalna mudam chalna
Betab hai is jahan ki har shai
Kahte hain jis sukun naheen hai
Rahte hain sitam kash-i-safar sab
Tare insan shajar hajar sab
Hoga kabhi Khatm yeh safar kiya?
Manzil kabbi ayegi nazar kiya?
Kahne laga chand hamnishino :
Ai mazra0e0shab ke khosha chino
Jumbish se hai zindgi jahan ki
Yeh rasm-i-qadeem hai yahan ki
Kha kha ke talab ke taziyana
Hai daurta ashhab-i-zamana
Is rah men maqam bemahal hai

Posheeda qarar men ajal hai
Chalne wali nikal gaye hain
Jo thehre zara kuchal gaye hain
Anjam hai is khiram ka husn
Aghaz hai ishq, intiha husn

[Being afraid of the breath of morning
The stars said to the moon:
The sky has still the same old scenes to show;
Tired and wiery we are due to constant shining.
Our job, every morning and evening, is to be on the move,
To be on the move, to be on the move, to be on the move constantly,
Every atom in this universe is restless –
What is called peace and tranquility is traceable nowhere.
Everything is under the stress of motion,
Whether stars or human-beings or trees or stones – Every thing.
Would this journey ever come to an end ?

Shall we ever arrive at our destination ?
Replied the moon, 'O Companions'.
O the beneficiaries of the farm of night!
The life of the Universe springs of from the movement;
This is an ancient practice here.
The charger of time is on the run
Being lashed upon by an urge for a fresh achievement.
To halt on this path is inopportune;
There is death hidden in the static state
Those on the move have gone ahead,
And those who halted a bit have been trampled
The achievement of this move is Beauty
Love is its beginning but ultimate beauty is its goal.]

Discussing this subject in his lecture entitled "The Conception of God and the meaning of Prayer" Iqbal again goes back to the Holy Quran and observes : "The teaching of the Quran, which believes in the possibility of improvement in the behaviour of man, and his control over natural forces, is neither optimism nor pessimism. It is meliorism, which recognizes a growing universe and is animated by the hope of man's eventual victory over evil". Summing up this idea in the "Zarb-i-Kaleem", he says :–

Yeh kainat abhi natamam hai shayed
Ki aa rahi hai damadam sada-i-kun fayakun

[This universe is, perhaps, incomplete so far –
As the sound of 'Kun Fayakun' is being constantly
heard]

PURPOSEFUL MOVEMENT

It should, however, not be ignored that Iqbal's conception of movement is completely different from that of Bergson. In Bergron's view the forward rush of the vital

impulse in its creative freedom is not aiming at a result. It is not with a purpose. For Iqbal, the result of consciousness has a forward aspect. "Life" for Iqbal, "is only a series of acts of attention, and an act of attention is inexplicable without reference to a purpose, conscious or unconscious".[6] In the words of Iqbal, "Even our acts of perception are determined by our immediate interests and purposes." He further explains this idea with a great poetic charm in "Bal-i-Jibreel" when he says :

Fareb-i-Nazar hai sukoon-o-sabat
Tarapta hai har zarra-i-kaynat
Thaharta naheen karwan-i-wujood
Ki har lehza taza hai shan-i-wujood
Samajhta hai tu raz hai zindgi
Faqat Zauq-i-parwaz hai zindgi
Bahut us ne dekhe hain past-o-baland
Safar us ko manzil se barh kar pasand
Safar zindgi ke liye barg-o-saz
Safar hai haqiqat hazar hai majaz

[Calm and Immovability are nothing but deception
for eye,
Every particle of the Universe is palpitating.
The caravan of Existence does not halt anywhere,
As the manifestations of Existence are ever fresh.
You are under the impression that life is a secret;
Life is only an urge to move on.
It has experienced a number of ups and downs;
Journey is more dear to it than destination.
Journey is the tool and equipment of life;
Journey is a reality while rest is unreal]

INDIVIDUALITY OF MAN

Iqbal's concept of the forward rush of the vital impulse culminates in a constant process of ascendence of man as he

says in "Bal-i-Jibreel" :–

Arooj-i-adam-i-khaki se anjum sehme jate hain
Ki yeh tuta hua tara mah-e-kamil na ban jai

[The stars are getting terrieid at the ascension of man
Lest this star, rent apart from its origin, may come to
shine again as a full moon]

And again in "Zabur-i-Ajam" :

Farogh-i-khakiyan az nuriyan afzun shawad ruze
Zamin az kaukab-e-taqdeer-i-ma gardun shawad ruze
Khayal-e-ma ki u ra parwarish dadand tufanha
Zi girdab-e-sipihr-e-nilgoon berun shawad ruze
Yake dar mani-e-Adam nigar az man chi mi pursi
Hunuz andar tabiat me khalad mauzun shawad ruze
Chunan mauzun shawad in peshpa uftada mazmune
Ki yazdam ra dil az taseer-i-u-pur khoon shawad ruze

[Brighter shall shine man's clay
Than angel's light, one day,
One day shall soar, and clear
The shirlpool of the sphere
Why askest thou of me ?
Consider man, and see
How, mind – developed still,
Sublime this subject will.
Come fashioned forth, sublime,
And with its beauty's rapture
Even God's heart shall capture.]

(Translation : A. J. Arberry)

Iqbal envisages the new man of the future society as an all-round, harmoniously developed personality. His concept of the new man is in utter contrast to Nietzsche's Superman, who is free from all moral obligation.[7] Iqbal's Mard-i-momin is a God-fearing personality with lofty ethical princi-

ples and of physical perfection. These qualities, however, according to Iqbal, do not develop automatically; they are moulded and inculcated. Iqbal has a firm belief that the new man, with aesthetic qualities, tastes and the ability to appreciate and to create the beautiful in art, in life, and to construct life in harmony with the laws of beauty, is on the way. Iqbal's system of thought shows fulness of feelings and interests as an integral part of the picture of the new man, who would find new happiness in the fulness of life. This new man would have a feeling of mastery over nature and a sense of his own dignity. He would be passionate in his efforts to understand human culture of feelings. Iqbal very clearly elaborates his view of the future man in one of his lectures "Knowledge and Religious Experience" wherein he argues : "The extension of man's power over nature has given him a new faith and a fresh sense of superiority over the forces that constitute his environment. New points of view have been suggested, old problems have been re-stated in the light of fresh experience, and the new problems have arisen". Not only that. He goes a step further and says: "It seems as if the intellect of man is outgrowing its own most fundamental categories – time, space and causality". And what he foresees in the distant future as man's strides in various fields is not going to happen, according to Iqbal, as a mere accident – but would result in a process of evolution.

During the course of this discussion, Iqbal again turns to the Quran and, observing that "this immensity of time and space carries in it the promise of a complete subjugation by man whose duty is to reflect on the signs of God, and thus discover the means of realising his conquest of nature as an actual fact", he quotes the following two 'ayats' of the Holy Book :

"See Ye not how God hath put under you all that is in the Heavens, and all that is on the Earth, and hath been bounteous to you of His favours both in relation to the seen and the unseen?"(31:19)

"And He hath subjected to you the night and the day, the sun and the moon, and the stars too are subject to you by His behest; verily in this are signs for those who understand". (16:12)

Regarding Iqbal's attempt "to guard Islam as a living force" by reconstructing the Muslim religious thought, M.T. Stepanyants writes : "Furthermore,/he was familiar with Western philosophy and sciences, and knew how to present the ideas of religious modernism with theoretical persuation. His desire to bring the teachings of Islam closer to Western Philosophy and the findings of modern science, echoed the mood of younger generation of the national bourgeoisie and intellectuals, who wanted to cast off the burden of the old dogmas and adopt new ideals". And again : "Iqbal himself did take from the West whatever corresponded most to the basic premises of his philosophical conception. He made it his goal to create a system resting on modernised Islam, and tried to prove that the philosophy of Islam was not out-dated, but merely needed to have its principles expressed in the terminology and ideas of the new times. From that premise it remained for him to find points of contacts between Muslim philosophy and the modern theories of the West". I am afraid Miss Stepanyants has rather tried to over-simplify the issue, which concerns the future of Islam in the whole world. Miss Stepanyants, perhaps, ignores an important point that with the advance of scientific thought the concept of intelligibility is also under going a change. The theory of relativity propounded by Eienstein, not only brought a new vision of the Universe, but also succested new ways of looking at the problems common to both religion and

philosophy. It is in this context that in the words of Iqbal, "the younger generation of Islam in Asia and Africa demand a fresh orientation of their faith". It is this re-orientation of Islamic ideology by Iqbal which Miss Stepanyants has confused with finding 'points of contact between Muslim philosophy and the modern theory of the West'. "With the re-awakening of Islam", Iqbal further adds while throwing light on the factors that prompted him to undertake this venture of re-orientation of Islamic philosophy, "therefore, it is necessary to examine, in an independent spirit, what Europe has thought and how far the conclusions reached by her can help in the revision and, if necessary, reconstruction of theological thought in Islam".

The theory of 'points of contact' built up by Miss Stepanyants crumbles in view of the extract given above from Iqbal.

In his attempt to re-orientate Islamic philosophy, a number of dogmas come in contact with his frres approach. In Iqbal's system of thought, the principle of free, will has appeared in sharp contradiction to the prevalent doctrine of pre-destination. Like Sir Syyed Ahmad Khan, Iqbal stressed the point that actually there was no point of contact in the divine pre-destination and the freedom of human action. Rather Iqbal goes to the length of saying in "Bal-i-Jibreel" :

Khudi ko kar buland itna ki har taqdeer se pehle
Khuda bande se khud puchhe bata teri raza kya hai

[Exalt the Self to the extent that before assigning Destiny,
God says to the individual; "come out with your desire".]

And long before that in "Payam-i-Mashriq", he had said :

Tu shab afridi chiragh afridam
Sifal afridi ayagh afridam

Bayaban-o-kuhsar-o-ragh afridi
Khyaban-o-gulzar-o-bagh afridam
Man anam ki az sang aina sazam
Man anam ki az zehr naushina sazam

[You created the night, and I brought the lamp into existence.
You created the earth; I made a cup out of it.
You created deserts, mountains and their barren slopes,
While I transformed them to meadows, gardens and orchards.
I am the one who can create a mirror from a stone;
I am the one who can produce cures from the poison.]

Again in the same book :

Nara zad Ishq ki khuniajigare paida shud
Husn Larzid ki sahib nazare paida shud
Khabare raft zi gardoon be shabistan-i-azal
Hezar ai pardagyan parda dare paida shud

[Love clamoured that one with bleeding heart is born,
Beauty quivered saying that one with keen insight is born,
News went from the skies to the night – abode of eternity.
"Beware! O veiled ones, a knower of the secrets is born".]

According to Iqbal, this limitation of God's boundless Will has been accepted by God consciously. "It is born out of His own creative freedom whereby He has chosen finite egos to be participants of His life, power and freedom".

Iqbal, while trying to bring about a synthesis between the Darwin's theory of evolution [8] and the Quranic concept of creation of man, originates an attitude of hope and kindles a fire of enthusiasm for life, which according to him is one continuous process. For him man's ego, although an off-

shoot of the Ultimate Ego is a free ego, even able to create new situations. Discussing this issue in "Zarb-i-Kaleem", he says:

Har lehza naya tur, nai barq-i-tajalli
Allah hare maraka-i-shauq na ho tai

[Every moment a new Sinai mountain and a new flash!
May the destination of ardent desire never be reached!]

It would not be inappropriate, in order to throw still further light on Iqbal's conception of Man's upward advance, from lower to higher levels, to quote him once again : "It is not a universe, a finished product, immobile and incapable of change. Deep in its inner being lies, perhaps, the dream of a new birth". And again : "His (man's) career, no doubt has a beginning, but he is destined, perhaps, to become a permanent element in the constitution of being — for man as conceived by the Quran is a creative activity".

MYSTICISM AND ISLAM

Mysticism or Sufism is the religious philosophy of Islam.[9] It is described as the apprehension of Divine realities. But Iqbal's scathing criticism of this order in India and the Middle East, both in his poetry and prose, has given rise to an impression that Iqbal was opposed to sufism. This is far from truth : Iqbal's wrath is all against the religious formalism degenerated into schools of surrender and renunciation. Iqbal saw a doctrine of destiny spreading round, which made all human efforts appear futile, and he raised his voice against this attitude to life.

As for his genuine love for Sufism, he is the first author to have attempted a chronological account of Persia's mystical thought in his remarkable treatise entitled "The

Development of Metaphysics in Persia. This was his thesis for Ph. D. at the University of Munich in 1908. Time rolled on and in 1914 appeared his mathnawi Asrar-i-Khudi which sparked off a controversy over Iqbal's approach to sufism. In this poem, Iqbal had not spared even the great mystic poet of Iran, Khwaja Hafiz Shirazi and lashed out at him for the education of passivity and inactivity which he gave. It was a dangerous path that he treaded, as in India, in the days of Iqbal, there was no dirth of the admirers of Khwaja Hafiz Shirazi and he was regarded as a great mystic. Akbar Allahabadi, a senior Urdu poet of the day, was so much annoyed with Iqbal's attitude to sufism that in a letter to Maulan Abdul Majid Daryabadi he wrote : "I simply fail to understand why Iqbal has started a campaign against Sufism" (August 6, 1917). In another letter to Maulana Abdul Majid Daryabadi, Akbar Allahabadi writes : "Iqbal, these days, is fond of making attacks on sufism. He says, 'Persian philosophy describes universe as God, and that this theory is incorrect – it is opposed to the teachings of Islam". (September 1, 1917) In yet another letter he says : "I am unhappy with Iqbal as he has openly condemned Hafiz Shirazi. I hope you have seen his mathnavi Asrar-i-Khudi. Now (the second part) Rumuz-i-Bekhudi has appeared. I have not seen it. I didn't feel like going through it". (January 11, 1918).

We can well imagine how perturbed Iqbal must have felt over all this. In one of his letters dated June 11, 1918 he wrote to Akbar Allahabadi : "... I have never levelled this allegation against Khawaja Hafiz that his poetry has led to excessive use of alcohol by the society. Mu objection is of an altogether different nature. What I wrote in "Asrar-i-Khudi" was a criticism of a literary objective, popular among Muslims for centuries. It might have done some good to the

society in some period but in the present-day context it is not only useless, it is harmful. . . .

"I have already stated that my objection is to a particular type of sufism. Whatever I have written is nothing new. Hazrat Ala-ud-Daula Sinjani and Hazrat Junaid Baghdadi have already stated long back what I have written today. . .."

"No doubt, Persian Sufism lends a sort of charm and beauty to literature but it has a depressing and degenerating effect on the reader. Contrary to this Islamic sufism gives strength and vitality to the mind and heart and it invigorates the literature".

Iqbal's concept of sufism is that it should function as a source of courage, heroism and self-sacrifice and not as a fountain-head of resignation and inactivity. In the preface to "The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam" he draws a line between the genuine and the non-genuine sufism.. Lashing out at the later one he says : "The more genuine schools of sufism have, no doubt, done good work in shaping and directing the evolution of religious experience in Islam; but there later day representatives, owing to their ignorance of the modern mind, have become incapable of receiving any fresh inspiration from modern thought and experience". Iqbal does not accept the theory that the sufistic order is ascetic world-neglecting, static and life-destroying. The real sufistic order, according to Iqbal, is dynamic, pragmatic and inspired by spiritual vision. It does not ignore the natural motives before humanity and aims at evolving a civilisation which is socially just, aesthetically beautiful and spiritually integral. In "Zarb-i-Kaleem" he says :

Miskini o mahkumi o naumedi-i-javed,
Jis ka yeh tasawwaf ho woh Islam kar ijad

[Submissiveness, slavery and eternal disappointment –
If these are the attributes of mysticism, (I am afraid)
You will have to invent a new Islam.]

And again :–

Yeh hikmat-e-malakuti yeh ilm-i-lahuti
Haram ke dard ka darman naheen to kuchh bhi naheen
Yeh zikr-i-neem shabi yeh maraqbe yeh suroor
Tiri khudi ke nigihban naheen to kuchh bhi naheen

[This celestial wisdom and this divine knowledge
Are worthless if they do not provide a remedy for the agony of the Heram.
This valueless if they are not protectors of your ego.
ecstasy]

Iqbal, while criticising Persian Fatalism or fatalistic resignation to the Will of God, offers a synthesis of resignation to the Will of God and desire for bold action. As a living example of this combination, Iqbal refers to the life of the Holy Prophet, who believed in resignation to the Will of God and at the same time was a man of strong action. Discussing the question of inner experience in his fifth lecture entitled "The spirit of Islam", Iqbal brings out the difference between the prophetic and mystic types of consciousness saying : "The mystic does not wish to return from the repose of 'Unitary experience'; and even when he does return, as he must, his return does not mean much for mankind at large. The Prophet's return is creative. He returns to insert himself into the sweep of time with a view to controlling the forces of history, and thereby to create a fresh world of ideas. For the mystic the repose of 'Unitary experience' is something final; for the Prophet it is the awakening, within him, of world-shaking psychological forces, calculated to completely transform the human world".

Iqbal's approach to genuine sufism is closely related to his philosophy of Self and philosophy of action so much so that the study of the one automatically leads to the study of the other. In so far as Iqbal's combination of resignation to the Will of God and desire for bold action is concerned, he does not discriminate between a Muslim and a non-Muslim, and significantly enough, between a Muslim and a Hindu. For him resignation to the Will of God coupled with bold action is the essence of Islamic Sufism; and resignation to the Will of God, if it means a passive resignation and mere fatalism, is according to Iqbal un-Islamic. Judging from this standard, while he refers to the teachings of Sheikh Mohyud-Din Ibn-i-Arabi as un-Islamic,[10] he describes the teachings of Lord Krishna as extremely close to the Islamic way of life. In the preface tothe Asrar-i-khudi he writes : "In the intellectual history of mankind Lord Krishna would always be remembered with esteem and regard as this great personality has examined in a very attractive manner the philosophic traditions of his country and nation, and brought out the reality that passivity does not mean renunciation of Action, as Action is inherent in human nature and forms the basis of life. Renunciation, according to Lord Krishna, means that one should remain unconcerned with the results of Action. After Lord Krishna, Shri Ramanuj followed the same path but unfortunately Shri Shankaracharya's charming logic undid what Lord Krishna and Shri Ramanuj wanted to establish. Lord Krishna's nation was, thus, deprived of the fruits of this exposition of ancient philosophy.

"In the West Asia Islam brought a great message of action, believing that "Ego"- is a self-created quality and can be immortalised through Action. But so far as observation on theory of "Ego" is concerned there appears to be a

strange resemblance between the intellectual history of Muslims and that of the Hindus. Here, if Shankaracharya adopted a particular outlook regarding 'the Gita', Sheikh Mohy-ud-Din Ibn-i-Arabi's exposition of the Quran was not much of difference from him. This exposition of the Quran greatly influenced the Musim mind. Sheikh Akbar with his vast knowledge and learning made 'Pantheism', in a way, a part of the Islamic thought.[11] Ahadud Din Kirmani and Fakhruddin Iraqi were largely influenced by this way of thought. Gradually most of the Persian poets came under its influence and the spell lasted up till the 14th century".

Quite in accordance with this, he says in "Gulshan-i-Raz-i-Jadeed":—

Digar az Shankar-o-Mansur kam gu
Khuda ra ham ba rah-i-khwishtan ju

[Less we talk about Shankar and Mansur, the better it is
Make a search for God through Your own self.]

PANTHEISM AGAIN

There are, however, a few quatrains in "Armughan-i-hijaz" which make Iqbal's stand a bit confused on the issue of Pantheism. Let me quote here just one or two :

Jahan-e-dil jahan-i-rang-o-bu nist
Daru past o buland o kakh o ku nist
Zamin o asman o charsu nist
Dar in alam ba juz Allah hu nist

[The world of mind is not the world of colour or smell
In this there is neither high nor low nor palace nor streets
Neither you find here earth, nor sky nor four directions
Here there is nothing but God]

Tura chun dar damidi lala guftand
Ba shakh andar chisan budi chi budi ?

[They called you tulip when you appeared on the twig?
How were you and what were you inside the twig ?]

Some of Iqbal's critics, and even admirers, call it contradiction in his attitude toward pantheism. But a minute study of Iqbal's system of thought reveals that it is not a contradiction, but a development. Here he reverts to his pre-1908 ideas, which he expressed in his poems entitled "Shamma", "Dil" and "Swami Ram Tirath". These quatrains, as already stated, occur in "Armughan-i-Hijaz", which is the poet's last gift to humanity.[12] As for this great work, it must be stated that it was undertaken, not for a speculative, but for a practical end. The entire purpose of the book is to remove mankind from the state of wretchedness and to lead it to the state of blessedness. The Chapter dedicated to mankind, therefore, provides a very pleasant insight into the heart of the poet, as it contains in a nutshell what has been expressed in the remaining chapters. This chapter opens with the couplet :–

Adamiyat ihtaram-i-adami
Ba khabar shau az muqam-i-adami[13]

[Humanity means the respect for Mankind
Just realize the status of human being]

The fundamental idea embodied in these quatrains is that human being is the noblest of all creations of Almighty, and the height of this nobility is that human being must have respect and regard for fellow-beings and not look down upon them with contempt. Iqbal, in the quatrains on this subject unveils the secrets which go a long way in bringing about an all round development and progress of humanity. Here, he

prays to God to make him taste the wine of love, which would enable him to impart to the whole world a message of brotherhood and fraternity.

This sentiment of love and brotherhood, which runs throughout Iqbal's poetry, does not leave the subject of patriotism untouched. The following quatrains would give an idea of how painful he felt over the slavery of India :—

Jahan-i-mehr-o-mah zunnari-i-ust
Kushad-i-har girrih az zari-i-ust
Payame dah zi man Hindostan ra
Ghulam azad az bedari-i-ust.

[The world of Sun and Moon is a slave to mind;
Every knot can be loosened by its wailings,
Convey this message on my behalf to India
A slave shuns slavery if the mind wakes up]

Throughout his poetry Iqbal has hit hard the Western Imperialism, and this hit, barbed in poetic expressions, is harder still in the "Armaghan Hijaz". Describing the Western Imperialism as an idol which must be thrown down the "arch of mind" he says :—

Sujde Awuri Dara o Jam ra
Makun ai bekhabar ruswa Haram ra
Mabur pesh-e-Farangi Hajit-i-Khwish
Zi taq-i-dil firo rez in sanam ra

[You have bowed before Darius and Jamshed;
The ignorant one, don't bring a bad name to Heram.
Don't go to Western Imperialism for the fulfilment of
your desire;
Fell this idol down the arch of your mind]

Ba afrangi butan khud ra sipurdi
Che namardana dar butkhana murdi

Khirad begana-i-dil sina be soz
Ke az tak-i-nayagan mai nakhurdi

[You have dedicated yourself to European idols;
Very unmanly you have expired in the idol house,
Your intellect is far away from your heart, your
heart from warmth,
As you have not tasted wine from the vine of ancestors.]

The "Gift" is really divine for its sacred subject, wisdom, power and its beauty of expression. The idea that Mankind is great, reigns supreme throughout this "Armughan", which is a message beginning with hope and ending with hope. The last poem, again, deals with Iqbal's favourite subject – "Greatness of Mankind" in which the poet very courageously asks the Almighty : –

Agar Maqsud-i-kul main hun to mujh se mawara kya hai?
Mire hangama hai nau ba nau ki intiha kya hai ?

[If I am the summum bonum (of life), then what is all
this beyond me ?
What is the last limit of my ever-fresh tumults and
uproars ?]

TOMORROW IN THE MIRROR OF YESTERDAY

Both in his poetry and prose, Iqbal has made frequent references to the past, sometimes in the context of his concept of time and space, and on some occasions in a nostalgic manner.[14] These references start with the very first poem "Himala" in the "Bang-i-Dara", which ends with this stanza :

Ai Himala dastan us waqt ki koi suna
Maskan-i-aba-i-insan jab bana daman tira

Kuchh bata us sidhi sadi zindgi ka majra
Dagh jis par ghaza-i-rang-e-takalluf ke na tha
Han dikha de ai tasawwur phir woh subh-o-sham tu
Daur pichhe ki taraf ai gardish-i-ayyam tu

[O Himalayas! Relate to me some episodes of that period
When you were the abode of forefathers of man.
Relate to me the story of that simple life,
Which was free from the stain of a rouge formality.
O vision! Bring again before my eyes the same old
mornings and evenings;
O the movement of time, rush backward.]

Poems entitled "Bilad-i-Islamia" (Islamic Cities), Goristan-i-Shahi (The Royal Grave-yard), Shikwa (Complaint), Shama Aur Shaair (The Candle-stick and the Poet), Muslim, Jawab-i-Shikwa (Reply to the Complaint), Saqi Nama (Bacchanalian verse) and many others are indicative of this trend. The question now arises : Is it due to his love for the past ? The answer is "Yes"; but it is an incomplete answer. For a complete answer we will have to refer to one of his own lines; "Dekhta hun dosh ke aine men farda ko main" (I behold tomorrow in the mirror of yesterday). With his own eyes on the past, he focuses his vision on the future.[15] Even in his poems like "Khizr-i-Rah" (Khizr, the Guide on my Path) and "Tulu-i-Islam" (Rise of Islam) wherein he is grasped by the past glory of Islam, he, in between the lines, is in communication with the future. His vision always encompasses a broad range of questions dealing with the development of human knowledge. His frequent references to the Holy Quran, his main source of inspiration, are not references to a book thirteen hundred years old, but to one "which emphasizes deed rather than idea". It is this book which informs him of "two other sources of knowledge–Nature and History"

(in addition to the inner experience), and it is by tapping these sources of knowledge that the spirit of Islam is seen at its best".

After Sir Syyed Ahmed Khan, Iqbal was the first Muslim intellectual in India to have realised the importance of modern science and Western philosophical thinking. Iqbal not only stressed the importance of modern scientific studies, but also observed that, according to the dictates of the Holy Quran, it was a prerogative of the man to conquer nature through scientific advancement. Iqbal makes a striking reference to "the promises of a complete subjugation by man whose duty is to reflect on the signs of God, and thus discover the means of realising his conquest of nature as an actual fact".

Notwithstanding his lashing out at the Western civilization at a number of places in his works, Iqbal has commended its achievements in the domain of science and modern knowledge.[16] He says in "Javed Nama" :

Quwwat-i-Maghrib na az chang-o-rabab
Nai zi raqs-e-dukhtaran-e-be hijab
Nai zi sehr-e-sahiran-i-lala rust
Nai zi uryan saq-o-nai az qata-i-must
Mohkami-i-u na az ladini ast
Nai faroghash az khat-i-latini ast
Quwwat-i-Afrang az ilm-o-fan ast
Az hamin atish chiraghash roshan ast
Hikmet az qata-o-burid-i-jama nist
Mane-o-ilm-o-hunar ainmama nist
Ilm-o-fan ra ai jawan-i-shokh-o-shang
Maghz me bayad na malbus-i-farang
Andarin rah juz nigah matlub nist
Fikr-i-chalake agar dari bas ast
Taba-i-darrake agar dari bas ast.

[The power of the West comes not from lute and rebeck,
Not from the dancing of the unveiled girls,
Not from the magic of tulip-cheeked enchantresses.
Not from naked legs and bobbed hair;
Its solidity springs not from irreligion,
Its glory derives not from the Latin script.
The power of the West comes from science and technology.
And with that selfsame flame its lamp is bright.
Wisdom derives not from the cut and trim of clothes,
The turban is no impediment to science and technology.
For science and technology, elegant young sprig,
Brains are necessary, not European clothes;
On this road only keep sight is required.
What is needed is not this or that kind of hat.
If you have a nimble intellect, that is sufficient;
If you have a perceptive mind, that is sufficient.]

(Translation by A. J. Arlorry)

And Again, in "The Reconstruction of Religious Thougt in Islam": "The only course open to us is to approach modern knowledge with a respectful but independent attitude and to appreciate the teachings of Islam in the light of that knowledge, even though we may be led to differ from those who have gone before us", Iqbal traces this modern approach to knowledge to the Quran which "sees signs of the ultimate Reality in the 'Sun', the 'Moon', the 'lengthening of the shadows', the 'alternation of the day and night', 'the variety of human colour and tongues', the 'alternation of the days of successes and reverses of people'; in fact, in the whole of nature as revealed to the sense-perception of man. And the man's duty is to reflect on these signs and not pass these "as if he is deaf and blind', for, he 'who does not see these signs in this life will remain blind to the realities of the life to come".

This is how Iqbal beckons a reader of the Quran to acquire modern knowledge and adopt scientific outlook with a view to conquering nature as ordained by the Holy Book.

According to him, Muslims of the earlier ages were aware of this secret of success. Therefore, they did not draw a line between the spiritual progress and the worldly progress. Spiritual progress and worldly progress, according to Iqbal, are the two aspects of the same issue.[17] In order, therefore, to regain the past glory, which unfortunately does not exist now for them, Iqbal admonishes the Muslims to follow again the path forsaken by them. Severely criticising the Muslim thinkers who, in the beginning of their intellectual career, had tried to understand the Quran in the light of Greek philosophy, 'not realising that the spirit of the Quran was anti-classical', he urges that this attempt was foredoomed to failure.

On his return from Europe, after attending the second Round Table Conference in 1931, Iqbal had the opportunity of visiting the mosque of Cordova. Cordova, reduced to a small town now, was once a great centre of art, literature, culture and learning. In the words of L. Torres Balbas, "during the reign of Abdur-Rehman III, Cordova was the largest, wealthiest and most cultured city of the West. Her prestige was only to be compared with that of great Constanttinople, at the time queen of the civilised world and heiress of the scientific, artistic and philosophic patrimony of Greece and Hellenic East, as well as of Roman greatness. Her rival was legendary Abbaside Baghdad, the metropolis of the Muslim world, with which the Cordovese aspired to make their home town vie".

As Iqbal is aware of this background, his first sight of

the mosque takes him back to the period which had produced this piece of art and architecture a thousand years ago. And in his imagination, he finds himself face to face with the builders of this great mosque. In his words, these builders, designers, architects and craftsmen are those –

Jin Ki nigah ... ne ki tarbyat-i-sharq o gharb
Zulmat-i-Yurup men thi jin ki khirad rah bin
Jin ke lahu ki tufail aaj bhi hain Andlusi
Khush dil o garm ikhtilat sada o roshan jabeen
Aaj bhi is des men aam hai chashm-i-ghizal
Aur nigahon ke tir aaj bhi hain dilnisheen

[Whose observation and attention gave cultural trading to East and West,
Whose intellect discerned the path in the darkness of Europe.
Through whose blood, Andlusians are even today,
Gay and full of friendly warmth, simple and bright-faced.
Even today in this land, gazelle's eyes are common,
And arrows of their glances performing their magic even today].

The glorious past of the mosque leads Iqbal to direct communion with the future, and addressing the mosque he says : –

Kaun si wadi men hai kaun se manzil men hai
Ishq-i-bala khez ka qafila-i-sakht jan
Dekh chuka Almani shorish-i-islah-i-din
Jis ne na choore kaheen naqsh-i-kuhan ke nishan
Harf-i-ghalat ban gai ismat-i-peer-i-kunisht
Aur hui fikr ki kashti-i-nazuk rawan
Chashm-i-Francis bhi dekh chuki inqilab
Jis se digargun hua maghribiyon ka jahan
Milat-i-Rumi nayad kohna parasti se peer
Lazzat-i-tajadeed se woh bhi hui phir jawan.

[In what valley, at what stage
Is love's hardy caravan ?
The Germans have seen the tumult of the Reformation,
Which has completely swept away the traces of old impression.
Popes and their sanctity have since lost their importance,
The delicate boat of Reason sets off on its perilous voyage.
France has also witnessed the Revolution,
Which overturned the world of the West.
Italians, grown old by worshipping old images
Have regained their youth through delight of renovation.]

These references to renaiance in Europe. Martin Luther's movement in Germany, its confrontation with the Roman Catholic Church and French Revolution, while unfolding before his eyes chapter after chapter of man's revolutionary concepts and reorientation of prevalent ideology, suddenly come before him as a big question mark and he says :

Ruh-i-Musalman men hai aaj wuhi iztirab
Raz-i-khudai hai yeh, keh nahin sakti zaban
Dekhye is behr ki tah se uchhalta hai kya
Gumbad-i-neelofari rang badalta hai kya

[The same commotion has now seized the soul of Muslim;
It is a divine secret which words cannot explain.
Let us see, what new portents spring from the Ocean's depth,
What colour this azure vault assumes]

Here, Iqbal is in the grip of his questioning mind. The past glory of the masjid-i-Qurtaba makes him more concerned about the future. The last couplet of this stanza –

Dekhye is behr ki tah se uchhalta hai kya
Gumbad-i-neelofari rang badalta hai kya

is not a big question-mark for Iqbal only, but for any imaginative modern mind interested in reorientation of religious thought in Islam. Obviously, the couplet is a further elucidation of Iqbal's utterances in 1928 regarding adoption of a respectful and independent attitude to modern knowledge, "even though we may be led to differ from those who have gone before us".

A POET OF HUMAN UNITY

Dr. Mohammad Din Taseer, a close associate of Iqbal, writes in the introduction to the "Aspects of Iqbal": "In the later years, in practical politics too as always in his poetry, he remained above party politics and was a severe critic of the Congress, Muslim Conference and the Muslim League". A diligent reader of Iqbal's poetry and prose will realise that Iqbal has an international outlook and only the permanent and the universal have a prominent place in his system of thought, and not the narrow and parochial ephemeralities or political exigecies. His creative development, and his emphasis on brotherhood of man, leads us to believe that Iqbal's concept of human unity was not theoretical, but practical and real. In an illuminating article entitled "Human Unity Concept now a Reality" Dr. Karan Singh says that the concept of human unity is as old as civilisation itself. In this connection, he refers to Rigveda in which "we have a reference to Vasudhaiv Kutumbakam, the world as a family". Stressing his point Dr. Karan Singh further says, he is "sure that such references can be multiplied in the other scriptures that the human race has produced in its long and tortuous evolution on this planet". In this context, one is aptly reminded of the Holy Quran, a major source of inspiration for

Iqbal who, like Aurobindo, can rightly be called a prophet of human unity. Iqbal rejects the old static view of the universe and propounds a dynamic view. This dynamic view, for Iqbal, forms the basis of the emotional system of unification which ultimately "recognises the worth of individual as such, and rejects blood relationship as a base of human unity".[18] In "Javed Nama" he, advising the younger generation through his son, Javed, says : –

Harf-i-bad ra bar lab awurdan khatast
Kafir-o-momin hama khalq-i-Khudast
Admiyyat Ihtaram-i-Adami
Bakhabar shau az maqam-i-Adami
Admi az rabt o zabt-e-tan ba tan
Bar tareeq-e-dosti game bizan
Banda-e-ishq az khuda geerad tareeq
Me shavad bar kafir-o-Momin shafiq
Kufr o deen ra geer dar pehna-i-dil
Dil agar bigurezad az dil wai dil
Garchi dil zindani-e-aab-o-gil ast
In hama afaq afaq-i-dil ast

[To utter a bad word is a sin,
Disbelievers and believers are all creations of Almighty.
What is humanity? To respect a human being:
Be aware of the dignity of human being.
Human being survives by mutual contacts;
Put your foot on the path of friendship.
A man of love follows the path of God,
And is compassionate both to the infidels and the faithfuls.
Encompass infidelity and faith in the expanse of your heart;
It is a matter of pity if the heart gets away from the hearts.

Although the heart is a prisoner of the four elements,
The entire horizon is the horizon of the heart.]

And again in "Zarb-i-Kaleem" a ray of the sun, while refusing to return to the Sun, as its task was still incomplete, says :

Mashriq se ho bezar na maghrib se hazar kar
Fitrat ka ishara hai ki har shab ko sahar kar

[Don't be disappointed with the East and don't neglect the West,
Nature is beckoning you to convert every night into morning.]

Iqbal's philosophy of human unity takes its source from his conception of individuality and uniqueness of man, as emphasised by the Quran. According to Iqbal, the Quran has a definite view of man's destiny as a unity of life. This concept of unity of life embraces the entire human race irrespective of caste, colour, creed and nationality. Discussing the issue, Iqbal attacks the "abstract conception of human unity" and says that the idea of human unity is "neither a concept of philosophy, nor a dream of poetry". In his words, "As a social movement the aim of Islam was to make the idea (of human unity) a living factor in the Muslim's daily life and then silently and imperceptibly to carry it towards fuller fruition". Iqbal does not visualise human unity as divorced from human consciousness which, in his words, constitutes the centre of human personality.[19] He bemoans the situation that this unity of human consciousness "never really became a point of interest in the history of Muslim thought". Attaching the highest importance to this issue and calling it an immense task, he calls upon the modern Muslims "to rethink the whole system of Islam, without completely breaking with

the past". Dilating on this point, he pays glowing tributes to Syyed Jamal-ud-Din Afghani and says : "If his indefatigable but divided energy could have devoted itself entirely to Islam as a system of human habit and conduct, the world of Islam, intellectually speaking, would have been on a much more solid ground today". Here it would not be out of place to refer once again to Iqbal's attitude towards modern knowledge which, obviously, led him to reconstruct religious thought in Islam and, in the context of which he says : "The only course open to us is to approach modern knowledge with a respectful but independent attitude and to appreciate the teachings of Islam in the light of that knowledge, even though we may be led to differ from those who have gone before us".

NOTES

1. It is a very common mistkae even today to treat of Philosophy as one among other subjects. In reality, Philosophy, like Science, is a group of subjects or, better still, 'a way of studying all subjects, including religion', as Iqbal says.

2. Iqbal here shows a great insight into the cultural aspect of the Western civilization. Europe owes the Muslim World a lot both in science and philosophy. cf. Iqbal's "The Spirit of Muslim Culture".

3. Iqbal will not agree with this view of Cantwell Smith for the Islamic Spirit is in itself so modern that it need not borrow anything from modern science or humanitarianism; it can rather teach the West a lot on social and moral grounds for she is still groping in nationalism and racialism—the two strong anti-humanitarian forces.

4. Being true religions, Islam and Christianity must agree on the fundamentals. But this is not so, for the two religions differ on some very important principles, e.g., 'Original Sin'. Christ's being Son of God, 'Redemption'. etc.

5. The Quran advocates not to shun any new piece of knowledge. According to it, the final aim of man is 'the conquest of Nature' as well as of 'Self' which are not possible without science and knowledge. Thus, a Muslim cannot be apathetic to any 'progress of human thought'. Those who say otherwise are un-Islamic in their approach.

6. Unlike Bergson, Iqbal was a great champion of 'teleology'; so much so that purpose or goal determines creation also. In *Asrar-i-Khudi* he says:

7. With spiritual values Nietzsche dispensed with moral values also. His 'Superman' is *'Beyond Good and Evil'* which is the title of one of his famous books.

8. Iqbal was impressed by Jalal ud-Din Rumi's view of Evolution, which is technically called the 'Creative Evolution' or the 'Emergent Evolution'.

9. Mysticism or Sufism, in so far as it claims to be a genuine experience, is Psychology rather than a form of Philosophy.

10. Iqbal's criticism of Ibnul Arabi is based on a misconception of the views of great Muslim sage. A deep study of his *Fusus al-Hikm* shows that he brought about a beautiful blend of 'wahdat al-wujud' and 'wahdat ash-shuhud'. So, he was not a pure 'pantheist' as is generally thought. Even Imam Ibn Taimiyyah admitted that his views were truly Islamic.

11. See the previous note.

12. The quartrain quoted by the author does not indicate a pantheistic strain. These verses discuss the realm of mind which is beyond temporal and spatial dimensions like spirit. Moreover, it is never safe to draw ones conclusion from a few stray verses of the poet.

13. This verse shows how much interest did the poet have in the powers of man (humanism). They also nullify any impression of pantheism ascribable to him.

14. It is, perhaps, not apposite to call Iqbal's attitude to the past as 'nostalgic' as the author admits himself in the sequel.

15. Iqbal, perhaps, believed in the 'perennial philosophy' which treats of past and future as the two stages in the same continuous process, called time. He believed with Bergson that past determined the future.

16. Iqbal's appreciation of modern knowledge was not partial and prejudiced, and he could see its both merits and demerits.

17. Cf. see Appendix 'B', Letter-II.

18. The Quran believes in a universal basis of unity rather than any restricted basis like race, country, etc.

19. He advocated a concrete view of human unity as taught by the Quran.

APPENDIX 'A'

THUS SPAKE IQBAL

Perhaps, many of us interested in Iqbal's poetry do not know that a few months before his death in 1938, Iqbal was planning to write a prose-poem in English, which, according to Dr. Mohammad Din Taseer, if completed, could have proved an international success, if not his greatest masterpiece. He intended to call it "The Book of a Forgotten Prophet" and his literary models would have been the Bible – the Old Testament-and Nietzsche's "Also Sprach Zarathustra".

Even during his life-time Iqbal was referred to as a Prophet by a number of writers, prominent among them Maulana Abdul Qadir Girami, who says :–

Dar Deeda-i-mani nigaran Hazrat-i-Iqbal
Paighambari-i-kard o payambar natawan guft.

[In the eyes of those with keen insight, Hazrat-i-Iqbal has attained prophet-hood; but we are forbidden to call him a prophet]

Obviously, the reference is to *Hadith* by the Holy Prophet which says La Nabiy-i-Baadi (There would be no prophet after me).

The idea, unfortunately, did not materialise and the proposed "Book of a Forgotten Prophet" never saw the light of the day. However, Iqbal's utterances and stray notes and

writings on a number of subjects-including God, Religion, Man, Universe, Science, Philosophy, Poetry, Life and Death, Time and Space, Good and Evil and Immortality, though not a substitute for the proposed "Book of a Forgotten Prophet" are highly valuable even in the present day' con-
Prophet" are highly valuable even in the present day contest as they strike a key-note to some basic human values and throw a good deal of light on the poet's system of thought. Some of these — of course not selected from his poetical work — are given below :–

GOD

I have seen Him. There are moments in a man's life when he can experience God . . . Such moments are, however, rare, very rare.

No one is shut out, but he who wants the experience has to wait for it.

. . . . .

God is, man is becoming.

. . . . .

God cannot be conceived as infinite in the sense of spatial infinity.

. . . . .

MAN

The great struggle in which man is engaged, proves his superiority to nature and his conquest points to the great 'truth' that he carries with him.

Man's career, no doubt, has a beginning, but he is destined, perhaps, to become a permanent element in the constitution of being — for man is a creative activity.

.....

In his inmost being man is a creative activity, an ascending spirit, who in his onward march rises from one state of being to another.

.....

MAN AND GOD

It is the lot of man to share in the deeper aspirations of the universe around him and to shape his own destiny as well as that of the universe, now by adjusting himself to the forces, now by putting the whole of his energy to mould its forces to his own ends and purposes. And in this process of progressive change God becomes a co-worker with him, provided man takes the initiative.

.....

PERSONALITY

Personality is the criterion of value.

.....

RELIGION

Religion in its more advanced form rises higher than poetry. It moves from individual to society. In its attitude towards the ultimate reality, it is opposed to the limitations

of man; it enlarges his claims and holds out the prospect of nothing less than of a direct vision of Reality.

. . . . .

The essence of religion is faith; and faith, like the bird, sees its trackless way unattended by intellect which, in the words of the great mystic poet of Islam, 'only waylays the living heart of man and robs it of the invisible wealth of life that lies within'.

. . . . .

It has something like a cognitive content, and the existence of rival parties – scholastics and mystics – in the history of religion shows that idea is a vital element in religion.

. . . . .

FAITH

Faith is more than mere feeling.

. . . . .

PRAYER

Prayer must be regarded as a necessary compliment to the intellectual activity of the observer of nature.

. . . . .

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

To rationalize faith is not to admit the superiority of philosophy over religion. Philosophy, no doubt, has jurisdiction to judge religion but what is to be judged is

of such a nature that it will not submit to the jurisdiction of philosophy except on its own terms. While sitting in judgement on religion, philosophy cannot give religion an inferior place among its data.

.....

RELIGION AND SCIENCE

Classical physics has learned to criticise its own foundations. As a result of this criticism the kind of materialism which it originally necessitated, is rapidly disappearing; and the day is not far off when religion and science may discover hitherto unsuspected mutual harmonies.

.....

In view of its functions, religion stands in greater need of a rational foundation of its ultimate principles than even the dogmas of science.

.....

Science may ignore rational metaphysics; indeed, it has ignored it so far. Religion can hardly afford to ignore the search for a reconciliation of the opposition of experience and a justification of environment in which humanity finds itself.

.....

POETRY

The kind of knowledge that poetic inspiration brings is essentially individual in its character; it is figurative, vague and indefinite.

PHILOSOPHY

There is no such thing as finality in philosophical thinking.

. . . . .

The spirit of philosophy is one of free enquiry. It suspects all authority. Its function is to trace the uncritical assumptions of human thought to their hiding places and in this pursuit it may finally end in denial or a frank admission of the incapacity of pure reason to reach the ultimate reality.

. . . . .

THOUGHT

In its essential nature thought is not static, it is dynamic and unfolds its internal infinitude in time like the seed which, from the very beginning, causes within itself the organic unity of the tree as a present fact.

. . . . .

THOUGHT AND INTUITION

There is no reason to suppose that thought and intuition are essentially opposed to each other. They spring from the same root and complement each other.

. . . . .

HINDUISM

The Hindu, while admitting the necessity of a higher source of knowledge, yet calmly moves from experience to

experience, mercilessly disecting them and forcing them to yield their underlying universality.

. . . . .

In fact the Persian is only half conscious of metaphysics as a system of thought; his Brahmin brother, on the other hand, is fully alive to the need of presenting his theory in the form of a thoroughly reasoned-out system.

. . . . .

In the intellectual history of mankind, Lord Krishna would always be remembered with a higher esteem and regard as this great personality has examined in a very attractive manner the philosophic traditions of his country and nation, and brought out this reality that passivity does not mean renunciation of Action as Action is inherent in human nature and forms the base of life.

. . . . .

CHRISTIANITY

The great point in Christianity is the search for an independent content for spiritual life which, according to the insight of its founder, could be elevated, not by the forces of a world external to the soul of man but by the relevation of a new world within his soul.

. . . . .

ISLAM

Islam appeals to man as a whole.

QURAN

The main purpose of the Quran is to awaken in man the higher consciousness of his manifold relations with God and the Universe.

.....

UNIVERSE

It is not a universe, a finished product, immobile and incapable of change. Deep in its inner being lies, perhaps the dream of a new birth.

.....

TIME

Time is an essential element in reality. But real time is not serial time to which the distinction of past, present and future is essential. It is pure duration, i.e. change without succession.

.....

Time is a succession of individual 'nows'.

.....

SPACE AND TIME

Space and time are interpretations which thought puts upon the creative activity of the Ultimate Ego.

.....

HEAVEN AND HELL

Heaven and Hell are states, not localities.

. . . .

DEATH

Death is also an aspect of life.

. . . . .

Death does not exist. It is life that is predominant reality, not death.

. . . . .

IMMORTALITY

Immortality is not a gift. Man is a candidate for it.

. . . . .

APPENDIX 'B'

Letter – I

The Editor,
Illustrated Weekly of India,
'Times of India' Office,
Bombay-1.

Dear Sir,

It is over-simplification of the issue to say that Iqbal condemns Sufism (Iqbal – A Pakistani View : Illustrated Weekly of India, October 20, 1974). Iqbal differentiates between genuine Sufism and the pseudo-Sufism; as he says in "The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam". "the more genuine schools of Sufism have no doubt done good work in shaping and directing the evolution of religious experience in Islam, but their later-day representatives, owing to the ignorance of the modern mind have become absolutely incapable of receiving any fresh inspiration from modern thought and experience".

As for Iqbal's advocacy to smash "the glass –– heart – desire *nafs* – for then alone will it become endeared to the Maker, God", it is not "contrary to his own thesis". Perhaps, the learned author is ignoring the basic concept of 'Resignation to the Will of God' which, according to Islam, is not contrary to bold action. A combination of both is certainly possible and it has been amply exemplified by the history of the Prophet and his immediate followers. They believed in *Tawakkal* – Resignation to the Will of God – and at the same time were men of strong action. In fact, the Prophet

warned his followers against pure 'Resignation to the Will of God', which leads to the neglect of one's efforts to control the situation.

Regarding the learned scholar's views on Javid Nama, it should be worthwhile to make it clear at the very outset that "Mir, Goethe and Shelley" do not figure in this intense and moving human drama. Hence, reference to them in not relevant. Of course, "Nietzshe and others" do figure in it. This long poem has no doubt been written after the style of Dante's Divine Comedy,[1] but a close study of the two reveals that in so far as the content is concerned, Javid Nama starts from where the Divine Comedy ends. In the case of the Divine Comedy, Virgil, the guide through the first two stages is human reason, which reveals the true nature of sin in all its hideousness and folly and hatefulness, and shows also the real meaning of Reformation. Matilda, the lovely Guardian of Eden is the perfect life of innocent activity; Beatrice or Revelation, makes clear the truth. St. Bernard, who takes her place when the presence of God is reached, is Intuition, higher than Reason, higher even than Revelation. And it is here that Dante's sojourn ends. This is Iqbal's starting-point. Leaving behind the stage of "Intuition, higher than Reason and the Revelation", Iqbal sets forth on his sojourn to conquer time and space. It is the Real Time and not the Serial Time in which Iqbal travels and this explains why, unlike the Divine Comedy, the sequence – Inferno, Purgatorio and Paradisio – is missing in Javid Nama. Again, there is nothing in Javid Nama to prove that Iqbal believed in a physical Mi'raj (Ascension to Heaven). Contrary to this, what Iqbal says in Javid Nama is "Chist Mi'raj? Inqilab andar Shaoor" (What is Ascension? Revolution in Consciousness).

The Persian poet, Sarmad's couplet referred to by the learned Professor has not been faithfully translated. The Descension of the skies has been used allegorically in the couplet as actually Mi'raj means Ascension and not Descension.

Yours faithfully,

(Jagan Nath Azad)

Letter – II

The Editor,
'Hindustan Times',
New Delhi.

Sir,

Maulana Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi is not incorrect in saying that "Iqbal is primarily a bard of Islam". Also, a diligent reader of Iqbal would find himself in full agreement with Zaka Siddiqi that "we need not be apologetic for his (Iqbal's) source of inspiration, Islam" (Hindustan Times, March 17). Iqbal was, no doubt, a philosopher of Islamic Ideology. His six lectures on Islam that he delivered at Madras, Hyderabad and Mysore in 1928 and 1929, established his position as a philosopher of Islam. It was on the same subject i.e. "Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam" that Lord Lothian and Lord Irwin invited him to lecture at Oxford.

It would not be out of place to quote on this subject that Prof. M. M. Sharif who writes, "it can justly be said that

Iqbal is the greatest thinker that the Muslim world has produced during last six centuries". To call him "primarily a bard of Islam" is not "unfortunate reassessment of Iqbal" but an objective and academic approach. In the short preface to the "Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam",[2] Iqbal says: "I have tried to meet, even though partially, the urgent demand by attempting to reconstruct Muslim religious philosophy with due regard to the philosophical tradition of Islam and the more recent developments in the various domains of human knowledge".

However, while comparing the tenet of Iqbal's thought and poetry with the tenents of the thought and poetry of some of the great world poets like Dante, Milton and T. S. Iliot, Zaka Siddiqi ignores an important point about Islam. In order to throw sufficient light on this point I would quote Shaikh Mahmud Ahmad, who says, "It would be somewhat difficult for a Western reader to understand Iqbal's objection to treating of religion as a private affair; and without a sympathetic grasp of it, a substantial portion of Iqbal becomes unintelligible. For certain historical reasons, the West, by and large, regards the affairs of this world the province of intellect and reason, and the affairs of the next the concern of religion. The main channels of enlightenment, which reached the West, were the Biblio-Palestinian current and the Grecio-Roman current, and the two have kept flowing side by side, providing sap and sustenance to domains material and spiritual. As is inevitable, there has been some interaction between the two, but in the main, these have been kept conspicuously apart. Islam, on the other hand, is at once a religion, a social movement and a way of life. It, therefore, cannot countenance any duality of the spiritual and the temporal. Matter and the soul, are not two different entities,

but different aspects of the same reality. Matter, according to Islam, is the esternal manifestation of the soul, and the latter is the inner reality and the essence being of matter.

"Iqbal feared that if under the cultural impact of the West, Muslims assumed its orientation of duality of the spiritual and the temporal, it would not only sunder the contact of their life with the fountain-head of their spiritual values, but would also stultify Islam as a social movement and a way of life. In Iqbal's view the ideal and the real reach their full flowering and they meet and sustain each other. It is "the mysterious touch of the ideal", as Iqbal puts it, "that animates and sustains the real, and through it alone can we discover and affirm the ideal. The life of the ideal consists, not in the total breach with the real, which would tend to shatter the organic wholeness of life, but in the endeavour of the ideal to appropriate the real with a view eventually to absorb it and convert it into itself to illuminate the whole being".

Yours sincerely,

(Jagan Nath Azad)

Letter – III

The Editor,
Hindustan Times,
New Delhi.

Sir,

A diligent reader of Iqbal's poetry and prose will find himself in complete agreement with Mr. Farhat-ullah Khan

(Hindustan Times, February 24, 1973) that Iqbal was not a poet of melancholy or sorrow. Iqbal was a poet who consistently gave a message of hope and action. His philosophy is the philosophy of Self: not of the negation of Self. Let us not confuse Iqbal's state of grief (kaifyyat-i-gham) with Schopenhaure's gloom and cynical approach to life. Mr. Khan is also correct in his assessment that there is not much common between Iqbal's Mard-i-Momin and Nietzsche's Superman. But to say that Iqbal was not influenced by Nietzsche is a view not borne out by Iqbal's own writings.[2] Nietzsche appears to have influenced Iqbal a great deal. In the words of Iqbal :

His (Nietzsche's) ideas are bold and great

. . . . . .

Like Moses he desired to see the Vision.

(Javed-Nama).

The fable entitled "The Diamond and Goal" in "Asrar-i-Khudi" (Secrets of Self) is reproduced from Nietzsche.

Mr. Khan also drifts away a bit from the objective approach when he says that Iqbal "does not seem to have deviated from the Quranic conception of Satan". The very dialogue between Jibreel and Iblees, referred to by Mr. Khan, is enough to prove that Iqbal's conception of Satan is not entirely based on the Holy Book. According to the Quran, Satan is all evil, but Iqbal looks upon the Principle of Evil 'diligent like priests in prayer busy'. Verily, this is not the description of Satan given by the Holy Quran.[3]

May I here quote Milton's views about Satan and leave it to the reader to trace for himself the points of similarities or otherwise between the two great poets insofar as their

conception of Satan is concerned? Milton, referring to the evil aspect of God, says:

> Evil into the mind of God or man
> May come and go, so unapproved, and leave
> No spot or blame behind.
>
> (Paradise Lost, V, 117-9)

And Satan confirms it when he says:

> The Son of God I also am.
>
> (Paradise Lost IV, 518)

Yours faithfully,

(Jagan Nath Azad)

APPENDIX 'C'

Review – I

THE ARDENT PILGRIM

An Introduction to the life and Works of Muhammad Iqbal, by Iqbal Singh, Orient Longmans, Calcutta. pp. 246. Price Rs.6/8.

THE book under review is a welcome addition to the literature on Iqbal. Much, it is true, has already been written on this genius of the East, but much still remains to be written. Mr. Iqbal Singh, however, has admirably succeeded in presenting the main aspects of a wide subject within the space of 246 pages. All important biographical details and facts relating to the poet's intellectual development are fully dealt with. Even a well-informed student of Iqbal would find the book interesting for many reasons.

Most of the existing studies on Iqbal have one serious shortcoming i.e., uncritical adulation. The present study is not one of them. Iqbal Singh employs his critical acumen to good advantage and arrives at a balanced evaluation of the poet's many-sided personality. His very wise admission that "in the nature of things there will always be something to add", cautions the reader against expecting too much from him on the subject.

In fourteen chapters, he has dispassionately discussed the mind of the poet at various stages of its development. On

the whole, Iqbal's philosophical,social and political ideas have been presented admirably. "Love" (Ishq) in all its sweep, with which readers of Iqbal are familiar, and his exposition of the philosophy of "Self" (Khudi) have been discussed at length.

Certain unknown aspects of Iqbal's life are brought to light for the first time. The account of his poetic development in chronological order and the general survey of his works is scholarly, compact and revealing. Two of Iqbal's representative works, namely, "Musafir" ("The Traveller") and "Pas Cheh Bayad Kard Ai Aqwam-i-Sharq" ("Then, what is the course of action, O Nations of the East"), written after the poet's return from a visit to Afghanistan, have been mentioned only in the bibliography.

An error has crept into the discussion on Iqbal's magnum opus, "Javed Nama" (Book of Eternity), on page 192 of this book. The writer says that he (the Friend of the World-"Jahan Dost") "begins to put a whole series of questions which have evidently been troubling him in his cavernous retreat. Rumi answers them briefly, for both he and the poet are pressed for time." Actually a few questions are put to Rumi in the beginning,but the "whole series of questions" are put to Iqbal,and it is Iqbal and not Rumi who answers them.

"Zarb-i-Kaleem" (The Stroke of Moses) and "Armughan-i-Hijaz" (The Gift of Hejaz), according to Iqbal Singh, lack the lyrical and imaginative impulse. These two volumes are generally believed to be as mature, profound and significant as the rest of the poet's work. Therefore,to dismiss them as "verbose and even clumsy" is definitely not fair and the view

is not shared by many learned critics. On the contrary, there is no indication even in Iqbal's later poetry of any intellectual or artistic decline. The natural flow and vigour of expression is equally powerful in these two volumes and the poet's imaginative quality is as powerful as ever.

Nevertheless, this survey of Iqbal's poetic development is most valuable. Those who have no direct access to Urdu and Persian, the two languages in which the poet wrote, will find it particularly useful and illuminating.

(Jagan Nath Azad)

Review – II

HAFIZ AUR IQBAL

"Hafiz Aur Iqbal" by Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan is a scholarly treatise dealing with a comparative study of Hafiz and Iqbal. Khwaja Hafiz Shirazi and Mohammad Iqbal are two great lyricists of Persian. In so far as the diction of their poetry is concerned, there is a lot common in both. But Iqbal's adverse criticism of Khwaja Hafiz in his mathnavi entitled "Asrar-i-Khudi", that appeared in 1914, led his readers, including Akbar Allahabadi and Khwaja Hasan Nizami, to misconstrue – and the impression still persists in some literary quarters in India and Pakistan – that the views of Khwaja Hafiz on 'Love' and 'Ecstasy' are not acceptable to Iqbal and Hafiz's poetry, being on the whole a speci-

men of 'art for art's sake', does not come upto the purposeful standard which Iqbal has set forth while propounding his concept of literature. This was a myth that has been gaining ground in the Indo–Pak sub-continent since 1914. During past three or four decades some writers on Iqbal, including Dr. Syyed Abdullah, Professor Yusuf Saleem Chishti and the present writer, have made pointed references to this myth in their writings. It has, however, been vehemently and most successfully exploded by Dr. Yusuf Hussain Khan in his book under reivew.

Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan's analytical study of the points of similarity and dissimilarity between Hafiz and Iqbal is thought-provoking. He has undertaken this remarkable study under various heads, including Knowledge, Faith, Intuition, Greatness of Man, Pre-destination and Free-will, Renunciation, Sermons, Asceticism, Mysticism, Theory of Action, Mortality and Immortality, Feeling of Loneliness, Tulip as a symbol and Mansur Hallaj. He has also dealt at length with the impact of the style of Khwaja Hafiz's lyrics on Iqbal's lyrics. That Iqbal was impressed by the style of Hafiz and has tried to imbibe his diction is clear from a statement which Iqbal gave to Miss Attya Fyzee in London in 1907 and, later to Khalifa Abdul Hakim in Lahore saying, "when I am in the mood for Hafiz, his spirit enters into my soul and my personality merges into the poet and I myself become Hafiz". It is not difficult to understand and appreciate Iqbal's approach to Hafiz having two aspects which outwardly look contradictory to each other. Iqbal who believes in Action lashed out at Hafiz for inaction and the state of drunkenness "preached" through his poetry. Inspite of this Iqbal could not remain unimpressed and uninspired by the charm and the bewitching influence of Khwaja's poetry and the magical

impact it makes on his reader.

Iqbal was impressed by Hafiz both consciously and unconsciously, and this fact is clearly revealed by those of Iqbal's Persian ghazals in which he has followed the pattern set by Khwaja Hafiz. Actually in a number of issues, including "Love with all its sweep", both the poets have a common out-look in spite of their minor differences here and there. An in-depth study of both Iqbal and Hafiz divulges the secret that they differ on vital points only to agree. Love is the source of inspiration both for Hafiz and Iqbal, with the only difference that in Hafiz Love either relates to Reality or is a trope, while for Iqbal Love has a set purpose before it. But again for both, Love is a moving force to bring about a revolution within the Self and outside the Self.

Dr. Yusuf Husain, while dealing with Iqbal's scathing criticism of Khwaja Hafiz's poetry and also Iqbal's indebtedness to Khwaja Hafiz, thoroughly discusses the two periods in which Hafiz and Iqbal lived, their approach towards politics of their periods, their concepts of love, both individual and universal, art of symbolism as handled by each, and their concepts of Self. In the course of this discussion, the learned author has brought out for the first time the differences between the poetic imagination of Hafiz and that of Iqbal, and the role their imagination has played in the growth and development of the poetry of each, which is in either case a happy blend of thought-content and emotion.

Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan does not agree with Allama Shibli Nu'mani, who says that wine in the poetry of Hafiz cannot be interpreted as spiritual wine. The present writer is inclined to accept Yusuf Husain Khan's view, in spite of what

Shibli and Iqbal have said about Hafiz for the obvious reason that the high spiritual status enjoyed by Hafiz is a fact established by history. He was equally interested in what was happening in his country and the Middle East before his eyes, and also in the restlessness of the human spirit for the search of some thing higher, subtler and more real.

In the realm of inner experiences, the line of demarcation between transcendentalism and objectivity almost disappears. But objectivity does not necessarily mean incarnation of the Absolute in an individual being. It is quite plausible that in the case of a genuine mystic, experiences beyond his inner self can take the shape of objective reality. The author has scholarly discussed this issue in the light of the poetry of Hafiz and made it a culminating point for a comparative study of the two poets.

"Hafiz Aur Iqbal" is a valuable addition to the literature already in existence on Hafiz or Iqbal. The present writer agrees with Professor Nazeer Ahmad of the Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, that in view of its literary merit the book deserves to be translated in English.

(Jagan Nath Azad)

APPENDIX 'D'

LALA – I – TUR[4]

Pandit Anand Narain Mulla needs no introduction as a leading poet of Urdu to-day. He is equally known as one of the top-most litterateurs of Urdu both in India and Pakistan. But many of us are, perhaps, not aware that he is also a poet of English. During his college days, Anad Narain Mulla was as active as a poet of English as he is today as a poet of Urdu. In those days, he translated into English verse Iqbal's quatrains entitled "Lala-i-Tur", included in Iqbal's third collection of Persian compositions, "Payam-i-Mashriq", the first two being "Asrar-i-Khudi" and "Rumuz-i-Bekhudi".

These quatrains have also been rendered into English verse by Professor Arthur J. Arberry and, the translated version appeared under the title "Tulip of Sinai" from London in 1947.

Later in 1971, Mr. Hadi Hussain brought out his book "A Message From the East" with a sub-title "A Selective Verse Rendering of Iqbal's Payam-i-Mashriq". In the words of the translator, "the rendering was selective in a quantitative rather than a qualitative sense : it was confined to those of the poems in the "Payment-i-Mashriq" which had, in the first instance, appealed to me most as a translator, much as I admired the whole of that work". A revised and enlarged addition of this book with a sub-title "A Translation of

Iqbal's Payam-i-Mashriq into English Work" appeared again from Lahore in 1977 on the occasion of Iqbal's birth centenary celebrations.

Anand Narain Mulla's English version of "Lala-i-Tur", although appearing in a book form after the two versions of those quatrains have already appeared, actually saw the light of the day long before A. J. Arberry's translation appeared in 1947.

Iqbal as a poet of Urdu and Persian, shot into prominence like a meteor star in the the first decade of the present century, when his Urdu poems entitled Himala, Mirza Ghalib, Bachche Ki Dua, Khuftgau-i-Khak Se Istifsar, Aftab, Ek Arzu, Syyad Ki Loh-i-Turbat, Rukhsat Ai Bazm-i-Jahan, Tasveer-i-Dard, Subh Ka Sitara, Tarana-i-Hindi, Kanar-i-Ravi and many others appeared in prominent journals of the country, followed by the publication of "Asrar-i-Khudi" and "Rumuz-i-Bekhudi", the two Persian mathnavis, in 1914 and 1918, respectively. But actually it was two years later that he was introduced in a befitting manner, to his Western readers by Professor R. A. Nicholson, whose translation of the "Asrar-i-Khudi" under the title "Secrets of the Self" brought Iqbal much closer to the Western poets, writers and intellectuals. The "Secrets of the Self", inspite of some flaws in it here and there, is a laudable attempt on the part of Professor Nicholson to introduce Iqbal's poetry and philosophy to the West.

Nicholson's translation kindled a genuine desire in the minds of the Western students of literature to know more and more of what Iqbal had written and to-day Iqbal's glaxy of translators for the Western readers consists of, in addition to Nicholson, luminaries like Arthur Arberry and Victor Kiernan (U.K), Eva Vitre-Meyerovitch and Luce-Claude Maitre (France),

Annemarie Schimmel and B. M. Weischer (West Germany), Prigarina Natasha, Cheleshev, Dr. Abdullah Jan Ghaforov and Dr. Sukhochev (USSR), Henri Brome and Jussi Taneli Aro (Finland), Allessandro Bausani and Arthur Jaffery (Italy), Wojceich Skalmowski and Dr. Hiltrud Reusten (Belgium), Sheila McDonough (Canada), Metcalf (USA), Shaikh Akbar Ali, Hafeez Malik, Abdullah Anwar Beg, Bashir Ahmad Dar, Sayyed Abdul Vahid, Khwaja Abdul Waheed, Dr. Muiz-ud-Din and Dr. Mohammad Maruf (Pakistan) and Atiya Begam Faizi, Nawwab Iftikhar Ali Khan and Dr. Sichda Nand Sinha (India). The latest to join this illustrious fellowship is Pandit Anand Narain Mulla, the translator of "Lala-i-Tur".

Translation is a difficult art and all those scholars of various languages/who have undertaken this task, have referred to the difficulties involved in the art of translation. Iqbal himself, while referring to his translation of Gayatri Mantra into Urdu verse entitled "Aftab" says that "the difficulties of translation from one language into another are well-known to the scholars". Professor A. J. Arberry, who has translated "Lala-i-Tur" and some other works by Iqbal, namely/ "Javid Nama", "Zabru-i-Ajam", "Shikwa" and "Jawab-i-Shikwa", is fully conscious of the difficulties of translation from the poetry of a language into the poetry or the prose of another language. Dilating on this issue Professor Arberry says in the introduction to the "Tulip of Sinai": "I have sought to be as faithful to the letter of original as possible and have imitiated the stanzas used by Iqbal. . . . Iqbal is not an easy writer to understand, as Professor Nicholson himself confessed and the form of quatrains he uses in the "Tulip of Sinai" further augments the difficulty of grasping his full meaning. But I think I have made out his intention and have endeavoured to compress it into the ver-

sion". In the words of the late Justiçe S. A. Rehman, an Iqbal scholar of Pakistan, "a competent translator has to be fully conversant with the two languages he seeks to work in". Professor Arberry's command over the two languages, English and Persian, is an established fact but, in addition to having a thorough grasp of English and Persian, Anand Narain Mulla is a poet himself, and that makes all the difference in so far as translation of Persian poetry into English verse is concerned.

Discussing the issue of translation from one language into the other, Professor Arberry says in the Introduction to his translation of the "Javid Nama" , "It has been said that the ideal at which the translator should aim is to produce a version as near as possible to what his original tor's language and not his own". In this discussion Arberry quotes instances of translation by two translators of a few couplets of the "Javid Nama". One is, of course, Iqbal himself and the other Shaikh Mahmud Ahmad. The original couplets are :–

زندۂ یا مردۂ یا جاں بلب — از سہ شاہد کن شہادت را طلب
شاہد اول شعور خویشتن — خویش را دیدن بہ نور خویشتن
شاہد ثانی شعور دیگرے — خویش را دیدن بہ نور دیگرے
شاہد ثالث شعور ذات حق — خویش را دیدن بہ نور ذات حق
پیش ایں نور ار بمانی استوار — حیّ و قائم چوں خدا خود را شمار
بامقام خود رسیدن زندگی است — ذات را بے پردہ دیدن زندگی است
مرد مومن در نسازد با صفات — مصطفےٰ راضی نہ شد الّا بہ ذات
چیست معراج؟ آرزوئے شاہدے — التجائے روبروئے شاہدے
در حضورش کس نماند استوار — ور بماند ہست او کامل عیار

ذرّۂ از کف مدہ تابے کہ ہست　　پختہ گیر اندر گرہ تابے کہ ہست

تابِ خود را بر زدودن خوشتر است　　پیشِ خورشید آزمودن خوشتر است

پیکرِ فرسودہ را دیگر تراش　　امتحانِ خویش کن 'موجود' باش

این چنین 'موجود' محمود است و بس

ورنہ نارِ زندگی دُود است و بس

Iqbal himself translates these lines as follows.

Art thou in the stage of 'Life' 'death', or 'death-in-life'?
Invoke the aid of three witnesses to verify thy 'Station.

The first witness is thine own consciousness–
See thyself, then, with thine own light.
The second witness is the consciousness of another ego–
See thyself, then, with the light of an ego other than thee.
The third witness is God's consciousness –
See thyself, then, with God's light.
It thou standest unshaken in front of this light,
Consider thyself as living and eternal as He!
That man alone is real who dares
Dares to see God face to face!
What is 'Ascension'? Only a search for a witness
Who may finally confirm thy reality
A witness whose confirmation alone makes thee eternal.
No one can stand unshaken in His Presence:
And he who can, verily, he is pure gold.
Art thou a mere particle of dust?
Tighten the knot of thy ego;
And hold fast to thy tiny being!
How glorious to burnish one's ego
And to test its lustre in the presence of the Sun!
Re-chisel, then, thine ancient frame;
And build up a new being.
Such being is real being;
Or else thy ego is a mere ring of smoke!

And Shaikh Mahmud Ahmad does tehm thus.

Art thou alive or dead or dying fast?
Three witnesses should testify thy state.
The first as witness is the consciousness
Of self, to see thyself by tine own light.
The second is another's consciousness
That thou may'st kindle thus to see thyself.
And thy third witness is God's consciousness,
A light in which thou may'st see thyself.
Before the Lord's effulgence if thou stand'st
Thou art alive like Him. For life is but
To reach thy destined end, that is to see
The Lord unveiled. One who believes
Shall never lose himself in Attributes
For Mustafa insisted on the Sight.
The flight to heaven means a longing for
A witness who may testify thyself.
Unless it be confirmed by Him, our life
Is nothing but a play of tint and smell.
No one can stand against His beauty bright,
Except the one who has perfection reached.
O grain of sand! thy lustre do not lose,
Thy ego's knot but tighten up. Thy gleam
Increase, then test thyself against the sun,
If thou canst thus reshape thyself and pass
The test, thou art alive and praised or else
The fire of life is smoke and naught beside.

In order to have a fuller comparative study, I would like to reproduce below one more translation of the same lines by Arthur J. Arberry. He writes : –

Whether you be alive, or dead, or dying –
for this seek witness from three witnesses.
The first witness is self-consciousness,

to behold oneself in one's own light;
the second witness is the consciousness of another,
to behold oneself in another's light:
the third witness is the consciousness of God's essence,
to behold oneself in the light of God's essence.
If you remain fast before this light,
count yourself living and abiding as God!
Life is to attain one's own station,
the true believer will not make do with Attributes–
the Prophet was not content save with the Essence.
What is Ascension? The desire for a witness,
an examination face-to-face of a witness–
a competent witness without whose confirmation
life to us is like colour and scent to a rose.
In that Presence no man remains firm,
or if he remains, he is of perfect assay.
Give not away one particle of the glow you have,
knot tightly together the glow within you;
fairer it is to increase one's glow,
fairer it is to test oneself before the sun;
then chisel anew the crumbled form;
make proof of yourself; be a true being!
Only such an existent is praiseworthy,
otherwise the fire of life is mere smoke'.

Judged by any standard Iqbal's translation is the best. It is faithful, as near as possible to the original and full of poetic fervour. The reason is not far to seek. Let Iqbal's superb translation not misconstrue us to conclude that his translation is the best because it is his own piece of poetry, which he has rendered into English. No, that is not the reason. The reason of Iqbal's amazing success in this field is that he is a poet and it is his poetic genius that has lent superiority to his translation over the two other specimens. This very difference is visible in a comparative study of the English

rendering of Arthur Arberry and that of Anand Narain Mulla. Another reason is that Anand Narain Mulla, being one of the major poets of Urdu in India, is closer to Iqbal's Persian idiom than Arthur Arberry. Professor Arberry is correct in saying that "Iqbal is not an easy writer to understand". Actually, Iqbal is a more difficult writer to understand for his translators outside the Urdu and Persian speaking regions of the world, namely, India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran, and Tajikastan than those in other regions for the obvious reason that in poetry, whether it is Urdu or Persian, Iqbal uses old and conventional idioms and symbolic expressions only to impart new meanings to them. Syyed Abdul Vahid, dealing with this point in his book entitled "Iqbal, Art and Thought" says : "The remarkable point about Iqbal's poetry is the sense of "newness" and the main reason for this is that, although Iqbal was not actually anti-traditionalist, he uses certain words and combinations of words to express his visions which are entirely original. Some of these words are coined by him; others represent old words used in an entirely new sense . . . He is also a superb phrase-maker and has wonderful felicity of phrasing by which language acquires meanings beyond those formally assigned by the lexicographer. These words and phrases act as the key-stone for the entire arch of the poetic inspiration. As the removal of the keystone is sure to cause the downfall of the entire arch, so if we try to substitute something else for the master word or phrase, the whole artistic expression is marred . . . The use of those words and phrases give to Iqbal's poetry, not only a sense of "newness" found in very few Urdu and Persian poets, but also the quality of surprise which characterises all great poetry". One notices a further elucidation of this point in Reyazul Hasan's review of Arberry's "Tulip of Sinai" wherein he gives a few quatrains of Iqbal in original alongwith Pro-

fessor Arberry's translation, and tries to show "how a literal translation has deviated from the meaning of the verse and may cause confusion in the mind of English readers". He further says : "Such readers may even find Iqbal an extravagent poet". In this context, the first quatrain that Reyazul Hsan quotes along with Arberry's translation is :–

دریں گلشن پریشاں مثلِ بوئیم — نمی دانم چہ می خواہم چہ جوئیم
برآید آرزو یا بر نہ آید — شہیدِ سوز و ساز آرزوئیم

A spent scent in the garden I surprise,
I know not what I seek, what I require,
But be my passion satisfied, or no,
Yet here I burn, a martyr to Desire.

Commenting on this translation Reyazul Hasan says : "The word parishan (پریشاں) has been translated as "spent" and the idea behind the word "spent is consumed or exhausted, while the proper idea of Parishan(پریشاں) here is "scattered-ness like the spread of the fragrance in the garden". It is difficult to disagree with Reyaz ul Hasan on the point he has made. I would, therefore, like to quote here Anand Narain Mulla's rendering of the same quatrain to highlight the importance of the point made by Reyazul Hasan. He Says :–

Breeze like I wander aimless in this bow'r
The scheme of things is hid from we entire,
I live in constant Hope and Fear, a harp
Played on by changing moods of my desire.

Another quatrain with Professor Arberry's translation and Reyazul Hasan's comments :–

تنے پیدا کن از مشتِ غبارے — تنے محکم تراز سنگیں حصارے
درونِ اُو دلِ درد آشنائے — چو جوئے در کنارِ کوہسارے

A handful of dust a body fortified
Firmer than rocky rampart shall abide,
Yet beats there-in a sorrow-conscious Heart,
A river flowing by a mountain side.

"The phrase dil-i-dard ashnai" (دلِ درد آشنائے) has been translated as "Sorrow-conscious Heart" which does not convey the complete idea of the phrase. Properly, it is a tendency to share another person's emotion, or mental participation in another's trouble – i.e., a sort of sympathy with another person's misfortune. This is what Heine has called "Heiligheint der Schmerzen" (holiness or sanctity of pain)".

Anand Narain Mulla's translation is –

From thy frail dust a massive body form,
As hard as rock to face the fiercest storms;
Within, a heart that knows the pangs of pain,
A rivulet singing in a mountain arms.

The difference of expression does not require any clarification. Such instances are quite a few in number. This variation in the rendering can be easily attributed to two causes; firstly, Mulla Sahib's affinity with the classical Persian as used by Iqbal; and secondly, in so far as the translation of poetry is concerned, he himself has the gift of poetic expression which a non-poet does not have.

Those conversant with Iqbal's "Payam-i-Mashriq", and particularly its first chapter entitled "Lala-i-Tur", would realise that the task before Mulla Sahib was an arduous one – translation of Iqbal's Persian poetry into English poetry – but Pandit Anand Narain Mulla, being an acknowledged litterateur with a grasp of both Persian and English, has acquitted himself admirably well in this challenging task.

His version is distinguished both for its literary qualities and faithfulness to the original. This translation, which is neither literal to the extent of being prosaic nor free to the limit of drifting away from the original, is a commendable attempt to present Iqbal to his Western readers. I am sure, those studying Iqbal through English will find this translation not only an interesting and a pleasant reading, but also enjoy through it Iqbal's flights of imagination, his depths of philosophical thought, the beauty of his imagery and language and his astonishing freshness of ideas.

NOTES

1. This statement of the author is a bit dogmatic, for those who are well-versed in Persian mystical poetry will not agree with him. Even the beginning of Dante's long poem puts one in mind of old Persian masters.

2. In the words of Iqbal himself, he had formed the idea of his 'Mard-i-Momin' long before he read Nietzsche. Again, he remarks "It is probable that Nietzsche borrowed it from the literature of Islam or of the East and degraded it by his materialism"---cf. "Notes on Nietzsche" in S. A. Vahid's (ed), *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal,* (Lahore : Ashraf, 1964), p. 241.

3. Iqbal appears to have received inspiration from the renowned Sufi-poet popularly known as Mansur al-Hallaj.

4. A reproduction of Prof. Azad's introduction to a recent Eng. Tr. of Iqbal's long poem included in the *Payam-i-Mashriq*, done by Pandit Anand Narain Mulla, living Urdu poet.

5. To prove that even such a great orientalist as A. J. Arberry sometimes sometimes could not follow correct Persian idiom, I quote the original verse with his translation,

   حاکم پنجاب را چشم و چراغ

   'the eye and lamp of the ruler of Punjab'.

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